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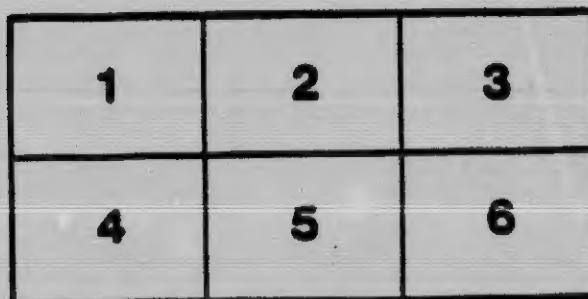
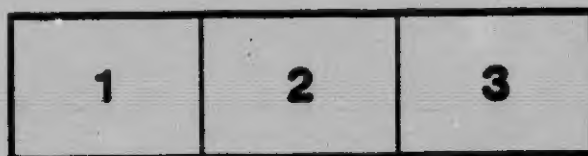
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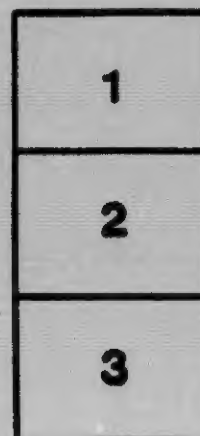
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VIEW OF THE ATTIC PLAINS.

HIGH SCHOOL
ANCIENT HISTORY.

GREECE AND ROME.

CANADIAN EDITION.

BY

P. V. N. MYERS,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
CINCINNATI; AUTHOR OF "MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY,"
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HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

Divisions of Greece. — Long arms of the sea divide the Grecian peninsula into three parts, called Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. The southern portion, joined to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, and now generally known as the Morea, was called by the ancients the Peloponnesus that is, the Island of Pelops, from its fabled colonizer.

Northern Greece included the ancient districts of Thessaly and Epirus. Thessaly consists mainly of a large and beautiful valley, walled in on all sides by rugged mountains. It was celebrated far and wide for the variety and beauty of its scenery. On its northern edge, between Olympus and Ossa, lay a beautiful glen, called the Vale of Tempe, the only pass by which the plain of Thessaly could be entered from the north. The district of Epirus stretched along the Ionian Sea on the west. In the gloomy recesses of its forests of oak was situated the renowned Dodonean oracle of Zeus.

Central Greece was divided into eleven districts. The most important of these were Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, Boeotia, and Attica. In Phocis was the city of Delphi, famous for its oracle and temple; in Boeotia, the city of Thebes; and in Attica was the brilliant Athens.

Southern Greece, or the Peloponnesus, was also divided into eleven provinces, of which the more important were Arcadia, embracing the central part of the peninsula; Achaia, the northern

MOUNTAINS.

part; Argolis, the eastern; and Messenia and Laconia, the southern. The last district was ruled by the city of Sparta, the great rival of Athens.

Mountains.—The Cambunian Mountains form a lofty wall along a considerable reach of the northern frontier of Greece, shutting out at once the cold winds and hostile races from the north. Branching off at right angles to these mountains is the Pindus range, which runs south into Central Greece.

In Northern Thessaly is Mount Olympus, the most celebrated mountain of the peninsula. The ancient Greeks thought it the highest mountain in the world (it is 9700 feet in height), and believed that its cloudy summit was the abode of the celestials.

South of Olympus, close by the sea, are Ossa and Pelion, celebrated in fable as the mountains which the giants, in their war against the gods, piled one upon another, in order to scale Olympus.

Parnassus and Helicon, in Central Greece,—beautiful mountains clad with trees and vines and filled with fountains,—were believed to be the favorite haunts of the Muses. Near Athens are Hymettus, praised for its honey, and Pentelicus, renowned for its marbles.

The Peloponnesus is rugged with mountains that radiate in all directions from the central country of Arcadia,—“the Switzerland of Greece.”

Islands about Greece.—Very much of the history of Greece is intertwined with the islands that lie about the mainland. On the east, in the Ægean Sea, are the Cyclades, so called because they form an irregular circle about the sacred isle of Delos, where was a very celebrated shrine of Apollo. Between the Cyclades and Asia Minor lie the Sporades, which islands, as the name implies, are sown irregularly over that portion of the Ægean.

Just off the coast of Attica is a large island called by the ancients Eubœa, but known to us as Negropont. Close to the Asian shores are the large islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Chios was widely known as being the home of the

alleged descendants of Homer, called the Homerides. Samos was the birthplace of some of the most distinguished artists and philosophers that the Greek race produced. Rhodes was noted for its schools of oratory and sculpture, and its commercial activity.

To the west of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, the largest of which was called Corcyra, now Corfu. The rugged island of Ithaca was the birthplace of Ulysses, the hero of the *Odyssey*. Cythera, just south of the Peloponnesus, was sacred to Aphrodite (Venus), as it was here fable said she rose from the sea-foam. Beyond Cythera, in the Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Egypt, is the large island of Crete, noted in legend for its Labyrinth and its legislator Minos.

Other Lands peopled by the Greeks. — Under the name of Hellas (see p. 4) the ancient Greeks included not only Greece proper and the islands of the adjoining seas, but also the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor, in Southern Italy, and in Sicily, besides many other Grecian colonies scattered up and down the Mediterranean and along the shores of the Propontis and of the Euxine. — "Wherever were Hellenes there was Hellas."

In the Western Mediterranean the Greeks came in contact with a sea-going and colony-planting people like themselves, — the Phoenicians, — and hence in this quarter they were prevented from establishing their colonies as thickly as they otherwise would have done.

During the later periods of Greek dominance, many magnificent cities, filled with Greek citizens, and characterized by Hellenic manners, language, and religion, were sprinkled thickly over the different countries of Asia as far as the Indus.

Influence of Country. — The nature and position of a country, as we have already seen illustrated in the case of Phoenicia, have much to do with the moulding of the character and the shaping of the history of its people. Mountains, isolating neighboring communities and shutting out conquering races, foster the spirit of local patriotism and preserve freedom; the sea, inviting abroad, and rendering intercourse with distant countries easy, awakens the spirit of adventure and develops commercial enterprise.

THE PELASGIANS.

Now, Greece is at once a mountainous and a maritime country. Abrupt mountain-walls fence it off into a great number of isolated districts, each of which in ancient times became the seat of a distinct community, or state. Hence the fragmentary character of its political history. The Hellenic states never coalesced to form a single nation.

The peninsula is, moreover, by reason of deep arms and bays of the sea, converted into what is in effect an archipelago. (No spot in Greece is forty miles from the sea.) Hence its people were early tempted to a sea-faring life. The shores of the Mediterranean and the Euxine were dotted with Hellenic colonies. Intercourse with the old civilizations of Egypt and Phœnicia stirred the naturally quick and versatile Greek intellect to early and vigorous thought. The islands strewn with seeming carelessness through the Ægean Sea were "stepping-stones" which invited the earliest settlers of Greece to the delightful coast countries of Asia Minor, and thus blended the life and history of the opposite shores.

Again, the beauty of Grecian scenery inspired many of the most striking passages of her poets; and it is thought that the exhilarating atmosphere and brilliant skies of Attica were not unrelated to the lofty achievements of the Athenian intellect. Indeed, we may almost assert that the wonderful civilization of Greece was the product of a land of incomparable and varied beauties acting upon a people singularly sensitive to the influences of nature (see p. 8).

note
The Pelasgians.—The historic inhabitants of the land we have described were called by the Romans Greeks, but they called themselves Hellenes, from their fabled ancestor Hellen.

But the Hellenes, according to their own account, were not the original inhabitants of the country. They were preceded by a people whom they called Pelasgians. Who these folk were, or what was their relation to the later historic Greeks, is a matter of debate. Some think they were the Arian¹ pioneers in this part of Europe, and stood in some such relation to the Greeks as the Celts in Western Europe sustained to the Teutons. Others regard them

¹ See *High School English Grammar*, pp. 10, 11.

as being simply the prehistoric ancestors of the Hellenes, or of a part of the Hellenes, just as the Angles and Saxons were the progenitors of the English of to-day. Still others think that the Pelasgians and Hellenes were kindred tribes, but that the Hellenes, possessing superior qualities, gradually acquired ascendancy over the Pelasgians and finally absorbed them.

The Pelasgians, whoever they may have been, evidently were a people somewhat advanced beyond the savage state. They cultivated the ground, and protected their cities with walls. Remnants of their rude but massive masonry still encumber in places the soil of Greece. Their chief deity was the Dodonean Zeus, so called from his sanctuary of Dodona, in Epirus. He was essentially the same divinity as the Olympian Zeus of the Greeks.

The Hellenes.—The Hellenes were divided into four families, or tribes: namely, the Ionians, the Dorians, the Achæans, and the Æolians.

The Ionians were a many-sided, imaginative people, singularly open to the influences of the outer world. They developed every part of their nature, and attained unsurpassed excellence in art, literature, and philosophy. The most noted Ionian city was Athens, whose story is a large part of the history of Hellas.

The Dorians were a practical, unimaginative race. Their speech and their art were both alike without ornament. They developed the body rather than the mind. Their education was almost wholly gymnastic and military. They were unexcelled as warriors. The most important city founded by them was Sparta, the rival of Athens.

In the different aptitudes and contrasted tendencies of these two great Hellenic families, lay, in the words of the historian Ranke, "the fate of Greece." They divided Hellas into two rival parties, which through their jealousies and contentions finally brought to utter ruin all the political hopes and promises of the Hellenic race.

The Achæans are represented by the Greek legends as being the predominant race in the Peloponnesus during the Heroic Age.

They then overshadowed to such a degree all the other tribes as to cause their name to be frequently used for the Greeks in general.

The Æolians formed a rather ill-defined division. In historic times the name is often made to include all Hellenes not enumerated as Ionians or Dorians.

When the mists of antiquity are first lifted from Greece, about the beginning of the eighth century B.C., we discover the several families of the Hellenic race in possession of Greece proper, of the islands of the Ægean, and of the western coasts of Asia Minor. Respecting their prehistoric migrations and settlements, we have little or no certain knowledge. We do know, however, through the testimony of language, that they belonged to the great Arian family; that their ancestors and those of the Romans, after they had separated from the other Arian peoples, lived together a considerable time before they parted company; and finally, that after this separation all the ancestors of the several divisions, or tribes, of the Hellenes dwelt together for some time as a single community before they separated to form the different branches of the Hellenic family.

What region was the abode of the Hellenes while they still constituted an undivided family, we can only conjecture. Some think that it was Phrygia, in the northwest corner of Asia Minor, and that from that station successive bands of emigrants gradually spread themselves over Greece and the shores and islands of the Ægean.

The last companies to leave the Phrygian home appear to have been the ancestors of the Ionians and Dorians. In the opinion of some, the Ionians followed the course of the Phrygian rivers to the coast, and, after having there developed into a sea-loving people, passed over to continental Greece by way of the Ægean islands; while the Dorians crossed the Hellespont into Europe, and, after living for a while as farmers and shepherds in the hilly regions of Macedonia or Northern Greece, pushed southward, in time establishing themselves as the dominant race in the Peloponnesus.

Others, however, are inclined to believe that all the Hellenes entered Greece by the way of Thrace.

Oriental Immigrants.—According to their own traditions the early growth of civilization among the European Hellenes was promoted by the settlement among them of Oriental immigrants, who brought with them the arts and culture of the different countries of the East.

From Egypt, legend affirms, came Cecrops, bringing with him the arts, learning, and priestly wisdom of the Nile valley. He is represented as the builder of the citadel (the *Cecropia*) of what was afterwards the illustrious city of Athens. From the same land Danaus is also said to have come with his fifty daughters, and to have built the citadel of Argos. From Phœnicia Cadmus brought the letters of the alphabet, and founded the city of Thebes. The Phrygian Pelops, the progenitor of the renowned heroes Agamemnon and Menelaus, settled in the southern peninsula, which was called after him the Peloponnesus (the Island of Pelops).

The nucleus of fact in all these legends is probably this,—That the European Greeks received the primary elements of their culture from the East through their Asiatic kinsmen. That they did in this manner receive at least many of the rudiments of their civilization does not admit of doubt. For at the very time that the Ionian Greeks were spreading themselves over the western coast of Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago, the Phœnicians were establishing their colonies in Crete and along the Asian shores, and carrying with them the arts and culture of Egypt and Babylonia. At the same time the Hittites also, having extended their power throughout Asia Minor, were spreading the civilization of the Euphrates to the shores of the *Ægean*.

Thus the Asiatic Greeks were early brought into contact with the civilization of the East; that they profited by the contact is shown by the fact that among them appeared the first-fruits of Hellenic art and thought. These new germs of culture, vitalized by their own quickening genius, the Oriental Greeks transmitted to their kinsmen in Europe, where they were destined, in the favor-

THE GREEK GENIUS.

ing soil of Attica, to produce the crowning flower of Hellenic civilization.

The Greek Genius. — That what has just been said respecting the transmission of the primary elements of Greek culture from the Orient, may not leave a wrong impression upon the mind of the student, — leading him to suppose that in the old civilizations of the East he has found the chief sources of Hellenic civilization, — we must here say, that the most profound students of Greek history believe that the chief factor after all in the wonderful product we call Greek civilization, was the Greek genius itself.

For it is with races as with individuals. Men of an extraordinary personality are not the product of education or of circumstances. They are born, not made. It is the mental aptitudes of the Hellenes, that original, versatile, imaginative genius, that love of the beautiful and sense of proportion, that sensitiveness to the influences of nature which we have already mentioned as characterizing the Ionian Greeks above all others, — it is these rare mental qualities, gained we know not how, which the Greeks possessed when they entered the lands they occupied in historic times, that afford the only satisfactory explanation of their wonderful achievements in art, in literature, and in philosophy. Without the quickening power of the Greek genius, the germs of culture transmitted to the West from the East would have lain dormant, or have developed into less perfect and less admirable forms. It was a case of good seed falling into good ground — and it brought forth a hundred-fold.

sub **Local Patriotism of the Greeks: the City the Political Unit.**

— The narrow political sympathies of the ancient Greeks prevented their ever uniting to form a single nation. The city was with them the political unit. It was regarded as a distinct, self-governing state, just like a modern nation. A citizen of one city was an alien in any other: he could not marry a woman of a city not his own, nor hold property in houses or lands within its territory.

But the Greek idea of a city was quite different from ours. An ancient Greek city included primarily nothing more than a territorial area, or district. Thus the districts, or townships, of Arcadia had applied to them the Greek word (*πόλις*) for city.

However, a district sprinkled with isolated dwellings or unprotected villages did not constitute an *ideal* city. There must be included in the district a walled town, containing public buildings, such as theatres, temples, agoras, and gymnasia. Often the city consisted simply of a walled town, with a few surrounding farms, a strip of sea-coast, or a small mountain-encircled valley or plain. In other cases, the city embraced, besides the central town, a large number of smaller places. Thus the city of Athens, in its most prosperous days, included all Attica with its one hundred and seventy-four villages and towns, some of which were walled places. Each of these villages, politically speaking, was an integral part of Athens, and those of their inhabitants who enjoyed the privilege of voting in the public assembly at the capital were Athenian citizens.

According to the Greek conception, again, the model city (or *state*, as we should say) must not be over large. In this, as in everything else, the ancient Greeks applied the Delphian rule — "Measure in all things." "A small city," says one of their poets, "set upon a rock and well governed, is better than all foolish Nineveh." Aristotle thought that the ideal city should not have more than ten thousand citizens. According to this, Athens was too large for a model city, as its list of citizens numbered at one time somewhere between twenty and thirty thousand.

Hellenes and Barbarians. — While the narrow political sympathies of the ancient Greeks separated them into numerous petty city-states, and prevented the various Hellenic tribes from ever coalescing into a real nation, still the bonds of race, of language, and of religion tended to draw them all together into a sort of fraternal union, or brotherhood. They always regarded themselves as members of a single family: all were descended, according to

their fabled genealogy, from the common progenitor Hellen.¹ All non-Hellenic peoples they called *Barbarians*. At first this term scarcely meant more than "unintelligible folk," carrying with it no intimation of lack of culture in the people to whom it was applied. But later, when the Greeks became conscious of their intellectual superiority to their neighbors, it came to express not simply aversion to a foreign tongue, but contempt founded upon inferiority.

¹ According to the mythical genealogy of the Greeks, Hellen (son of Deucalion, the Grecian Noah) had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. Æolus and Dorus were the ancestors respectively of the Æolians and Dorians. Xuthus had two sons, Ion and Achæus, the first the progenitor of the Ionians, and the second of the Achæans.

CHAPTER II.

THE LEGENDARY OR HEROIC AGE.

(From the earliest times to 776 B.C.)

Character of the Legendary Age.—The real history of the Greeks does not begin before the eighth century B.C. All that lies back of that date is an inseparable mixture of myth, legend, and fact. Yet this shadowy period forms the background of Grecian history, and we cannot understand the ideas and acts of the Greeks of historic times without some knowledge, at least, of what they believed their ancestors did and experienced in those prehistoric ages.

So, as a sort of prelude to the story we have to tell, we shall repeat some of the legends of the Greeks respecting their national heroes and their great labors and undertakings. But it must be carefully borne in mind that these legends are not history. Where, however, there seems to be sufficient ground to justify an opinion, we shall suggest what may be the grain of truth in any particular legend, or what part of it may be a dim though confused remembrance of actual events.

The Heroes: Hercules, Theseus, and Minos.—The Greeks believed that their ancestors were a race of heroes of divine or semi-divine lineage. Every tribe, district, city, and village even, preserved traditions of its heroes, whose wonderful exploits were commemorated in song and story. Many of these personages acquired national renown, and became the revered heroes of the whole Greek race.

The heroes were doubtless, in some cases, historical persons, but so much of myth and fable has gathered about their names

12 THE HEROES: HERACLES, THESEUS, AND MINOS.

that it is impossible to separate that which is really historical from what is purely fabulous.

Among the most noted of the heroes are Heracles (commonly called Hercules), Theseus, and Minos.

Heracles, who sprang from the royal line established at Argos by Danaus (see p. 7), was the greatest of the national heroes of the Greeks. He is represented as performing, besides various other exploits, twelve superhuman labors, — among which were the slaying of the Nemean lion, the destruction of the Lernean hydra, the cleansing of the stables of Augeas, and the bringing of Cerberus from the infernal regions, — and as being at last translated from a blazing pyre to a place among the immortal gods.

The myth of Heracles is made up mainly of the very same fables that were told of the Chaldean solar hero Izdubar (Gisduhar). Through the Phœnicians and the peoples of Asia Minor, these stories found their way to the Greeks, who ascribed to their own Heracles the deeds of the Chaldean sun-god. Like the Babylonian Izdubar, Heracles was at first a solar divinity; but, transformed and idealized by the Greek imagination, he became at last the personification and ideal type of the lofty moral qualities of heroism, self-sacrifice, and endurance, as well as the symbol of the bravery, sufferings, and achievements of the pioneers of Greek civilization.

Theseus, a descendant of Cecrops, was the favorite hero of the Athenians, being one of their legendary kings. Among his great works were the clearing of the Isthmian highways of robbers, the slaying of the Minotaur, — a monster which Minos, king of Crete, kept in a labyrinth, and fed upon youths and maidens sent from Athens as a forced tribute, — the defeat of the Amazons, and the consolidation of the twelve boroughs, or cantons, of Attica into a single state.

The legend of Theseus doubtless contains a substantial kernel of history. The consolidation of Attica and the founding of Athens were certainly historical events, while the slaying of the Minotaur may be taken to symbolize the freeing of the Athenians

from a tribute paid to the Phœnicians of Crete, whose custom of sacrificing children to Moloch probably lent to the myth its peculiar form.

Minoas, who has already been mentioned as the king of Crete, was one of the great tribal heroes of the Dorians. Legend makes him a legislator of divine wisdom, the suppressor of piracy in the Grecian seas, and the founder of the first great maritime state of Hellas.

Associated Undertakings of the Heroes. — Besides the labors and exploits of single heroes, such as we have been naming, the legends of the Greeks tell of three especially memorable enterprises which were conducted by bands of heroes. These were the Argonautic Expedition, the Seven against Thebes, and the Siege of Troy.

The Argonautic Expedition. — The tale of this enterprise is told with many variations in the legends of the Greeks. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, with fifty companion heroes, among whom were Heracles, Theseus, and Orpheus, the latter a musician of super-human skill, the music of whose lyre moved brutes and stones, set sail in "a fifty-oared galley," called the *Argo* (hence the name *Argonauts*, given to the heroes), in search of a "golden fleece" which was fabled to be nailed to a tree and watched by a dragon, in the Grove of Ares, on the eastern shores of the Euxine, an inhospitable region of unknown terrors. The expedition is successful, and, after many wonderful adventures, the heroes return in triumph with the sacred relic.

Different meanings have been given to this tale. In its primitive form it was doubtless a pure myth of the rain-clouds; but in its later forms we may believe it to symbolize the maritime explorations in the eastern seas, of some of the tribes (conjecturally the Minyans, of Orchomenus in Bœotia) of Pelasgian Greece.

The Seven against Thebes. — The story of the War of the Seven against Thebes is second in interest and importance only to that of the Siege of Troy. The tale begins with Laius, king of Thebes, — the third in descent from Cadmus, — who, having been

warned by an oracle that he would be slain by his own son, should one be born to him, thought to prevent the fulfilment of the prediction by causing his infant child to be exposed on Mount Cithæron. The child was rescued by a herdsman, and brought up by the king of Corinth, having been given the name of Œdipus.

Upon reaching manhood, Œdipus went to the oracle at Delphi to make inquiry respecting his parentage. The only answer he received was a warning not to return to his native country, or else he would kill his father and become the husband of his own mother. Therefore, avoiding Corinth, Œdipus turned towards Thebes, but on the way met Laius with an attendant, and in a quarrel which arose killed the king, not knowing him to be his father.

Shortly after this event the Thebans were distressed by a woman-headed monster, called the Sphinx, who proposed a riddle¹ to them, and, as often as they failed in their answers, seized and devoured one of the inhabitants of the city. The crown of Thebes and the hand of the widow (Jocasta) of Laius were offered to any one who should solve the riddle. Œdipus interpreted the riddle, and became king of Thebes and the husband of Jocasta. Thus the oracle was fulfilled.

Because of the unwitting crime, a terrible doom overhangs the royal house. The truth finally becomes known. Jocasta hangs herself. Œdipus, in a frenzy of agony, tears out his own eyes. His sons, Eteocles, and Polynices drive him from Thebes, and upon them he invokes the curses of Heaven. The unhappy king is accompanied in his exile by his daughters Antigone and Ismene.

The brothers now quarrel respecting the throne. Polynices flees to Argos, and seeks aid of Adrastus, king of that city. With five chiefs besides himself and Polynices, Adrastus makes war upon Thebes. All the heroes except Adrastus are killed (if we may thus speak of one, Amphiaræus, whom the opening earth received

¹ "What animal walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three at night?" Answer: *man*, who creeps in infancy, walks upright in manhood, and supports his steps with a staff in old age.

unharmful into the world of shades), while the two unnatural brothers also fall, each by the hand of the other.

Kreon, the new king of Thebes, refuses to allow Adrastus to bury or burn the bodies of his fallen companions. In his distress, Adrastus supplicates Theseus, king of Athens, to avenge the wrong, — for a denial of the rites of sepulture was considered by the Greeks a most impious act. Theseus makes war upon the king of Thebes, overcomes him, and secures burial honors for the bodies of the slain heroes.

Ten years after the unsuccessful attempt of the seven chieftains, the sons of those who were lost, headed, according to one account, by Adrastus, and, according to others, by Thersander, the son of Polynices, waged a second war against Thebes, to avenge the death of their fathers. They took the city and destroyed it. This expedition was known as the War of the Descendants (Epigoni).

This legend branches out into a hundred tales, which form the basis of many of the greatest productions of the Greek tragic poets.

The Trojan War (legendary date 1194–1184 B.C.). — The Trojan War was an event about which gathered a great circle of tales and poems, all full of an undying interest and fascination. Homer, in his great epic of the *Iliad*, and a host of succeeding writers called the cyclic poets, rehearsed, with a charm of language and beauty of imagery never surpassed, the feats of the struggling heroes, Greek and Trojan, beneath the walls of Ilios.

Ilios, or Troy, was the capital of a strong empire, represented as Grecian in race and language, which had grown up in Asia Minor, along the shores of the Hellespont. The traditions tell how Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, visited the Spartan king Menelaus, and ungenerously requited his hospitality by secretly bearing away to Troy his wife Helen, famous for her rare beauty.

All the heroes of Greece flew to arms to avenge the wrong. A host of one hundred thousand warriors was speedily gathered. Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus and "king of men," was chosen leader of the expedition. Under him were the "lion-hearted

Achilles," of Thessaly, the "crafty Ulysses" (Odysseus), king of Ithaca, Ajax, "the swift son of Oileus," the Telemonian Ajax, the aged Nestor, and many more—the most valiant heroes of all Hellas. Twelve hundred galleys bore the gathered clans from Aulis, in Greece, across the Ægean to the Trojan shores.

For ten years the Greeks and their allies hold in close siege the city of Priam. The Trojans have as allies many of the states of Asia Minor, as well as warriors from more remote lands. On the plains beneath the walls of the capital, the warriors of the two armies fight in general battle, or contend in single encounter. At first, Achilles is foremost in every fight; but a fair-faced maiden, who fell to him as a prize, having been taken from him by his chief, Agamemnon, he is filled with wrath, and sulks in his tent. Though the Greeks are often sorely pressed, still the angered hero refuses them his aid. At last, however, his friend Patroclus is killed by Hector, eldest son of Priam, and then Achilles goes forth to avenge his death. In a fierce combat he slays Hector, fastens his body to his chariot wheels, and drags it thrice around the walls of Troy.

These latter events, beginning with the wrath of Achilles and ending with the funeral rites of Patroclus and Hector, form the subject of the *Iliad* of Homer.

The city is at last taken through a device of the "crafty Ulysses." Upon the plain in sight of the walls is built a wooden statue of a horse, in the body of which are hidden several Grecian warriors. Then the Greeks retire to their ships, as though about to abandon the siege. The Trojans issue from their gates and gather in wondering crowds about the image. They believe it to be an offering sacred to Athena, and so dare not destroy it; but, on the other hand, misled by certain omens and by a lying Greek named Sinon, they level a place in the walls of their city, and drag the statue within. At night the concealed warriors issue from the horse, open the gates of the city to the Grecians, and Troy is sacked and burned to the ground. The aged Priam is slain, after having seen his sons and many of his warriors perish before his

face. *Æneas*, with his aged father *Anchises*, and a few devoted followers, escapes, and, after long wanderings by land and by sea, becomes the fabled founder of the Roman race in Italy.

It is a matter of difficulty to point out the nucleus of fact in this the most elaborate and interesting of the Grecian legends. Some believe it to be the dim recollection of a prehistoric conflict between the Greeks and the natives of Asia Minor, arising from the attempt of the former to secure a foothold upon the coast. As, at the time of the composition of the *Iliad*, the coast was in the possession of Greeks, the Trojans are represented as Greeks, in order that the descriptions may correspond to the then existing state of things.

That there really existed in prehistoric times such a city as Troy, or *Ilios*, has been placed beyond doubt by the excavations and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann.¹

Return of the Grecian Chieftains. — After the fall of Troy, the Grecian chieftains and princes returned home. The poets represent the gods as withdrawing their protection from the hitherto favored heroes, because they had not spared the altars of the Trojans. So, many of them were driven in endless wanderings over sea and land. Homer's *Odyssey* portrays the sufferings of the "much-enduring" *Ulysses*, impelled by divine wrath to long journeyings through strange seas.

In some cases, according to the tradition, advantage had been taken of the absence of the princes, and their thrones had been usurped. Thus at Argos, *Ægisthus* had won the unholy love of *Clytemnestra*, wife and queen of *Agamemnon*, who on his return was murdered by the guilty couple. In pleasing contrast with this we have exhibited to us the constancy of *Penelope*, although sought by many suitors during the absence of her husband *Ulysses*.

The Dorian Invasion, or the Return of the Heraclidæ (legendary date 1104 B.C.). — We set the tradition of the return of the Heraclidæ apart from the legends of the three enterprises just detailed, for the reason that it undoubtedly contains quite a large

¹ See his *Ilios* and *Troja*.

historical element. It seems to be a remembrance, though a confused one, of a real migration and conquest, and of a resulting shifting of the population of prehistoric Greece.

The traditions of the Greeks tell how Heracles, an Achæan, in the times before the Trojan War, ruled over the Peloponnesian Achæans. Just before that event his children were driven from the land. Eighty years after the war, the hundred years of exile appointed by the fates having expired, the descendants of the hero, at the head of the Dorians from Northern Greece, returned, and with their aid effected the conquest of the greater part of the Peloponnesus, and established themselves as conquerors and masters in the land that had formerly been ruled by their semi-divine ancestor.

This return of the descendants of Heracles to the land of their fathers has been likened to the return of the children of Israel to Palestine, and the conquest of that land by them on the ground of an ancient claim to the country through their ancestor Abraham.

The nucleus of fact in this legend of the return of the Heraclidæ, as we have already said, is doubtless a prehistoric invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians from the north of Greece, and the expulsion or subjugation of the native inhabitants of the peninsula. The entire movement probably occupied several centuries.

The Dorians established in the different districts of which they took possession aristocratic and military governments, and developed, generally, social and political systems characterized by austere and martial discipline.

Towards their conquerors, the subjected Achæans cherished an inextinguishable hatred, save in some parts where the two races appear to have quietly blended, and the distinctive relation of conqueror and conquered seems to have been almost wholly obliterated. Some of the dispossessed Achæans, crowding towards the north of the Peloponnesus, drove out the Ionians who occupied the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, and settling there, gave the name *Achaia* to all that region.

Arcadia, in the center of the Peloponnesus, was another district

which did not fall into the hands of the Dorians. The people here, even down to the latest times, retained their primitive customs and country mode of life; hence *Arcadian* came to mean rustic and artless.

Migrations to Asia Minor.—The Greek legends represent that the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus resulted in three distinct migrations from the mother land to the shores of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands.

The northwestern shore of Asia Minor was settled by Æolian emigrants from Boeotia, among whom were many Achæan refugees from the Peloponnesus.¹ The neighboring island of Lesbos became the home and center of Æolian culture in poetry and music.

The coast to the south of the Æolians was occupied by Ionian emigrants from the neighborhood of the Corinthian Gulf, who, uniting with their Ionian kinsmen already settled upon that shore, built up twelve splendid cities (Ephesus, Miletus, etc.), which finally united to form the celebrated Ionian confederacy.

South of the Ionians, all along the southwestern shore of Asia Minor, the Dorians established their colonies. They also settled the important islands of Cos and Rhodes, and conquered and colonized Crete.

The traditions relating to these various settlements represent them as having been effected in a very short period; but it is probable that the movement embraced several centuries,—possibly a longer time than has been occupied by the English race in colonizing the different lands of the Western World.

With the migrations of the Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians to the Asiatic shores, the Legendary Age of Greece comes to an end. From this time forward we tread upon fairly firm historic ground.

¹ Curtius believes that the struggle which must inevitably have arisen between these emigrants and the inhabitants of the Asiatic coast may have been the basis of the story of the Trojan War. "We are justified," he says, "in transferring this war out of its isolation, in which it remains incomprehensible, into a wider connection of events, and out of the poetic times, whither it was carried by song, into its actual period."

gust Society in the Heroic Age. — While it is true that the legendary stories and poems of the Greeks cannot be received as reliable accounts of real events, still they may be regarded as reflecting with very great accuracy the manners, customs, and general culture of the time in which they had their origin. The poems of Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which were composed probably as early as the eighth or ninth century B.C., are the chief sources whence are drawn the materials from which historians venture to form a picture of Greek society in the Heroic Age. It remains for us to add a few words upon this subject to complete our sketch of legendary Greece.

In Homeric times the Greeks were ruled by hereditary kings, who were believed to be of divine or superhuman lineage. The king was at once the lawgiver, the judge, and the military leader of his people. He was expected to prove his divine right to rule, by his courage, strength, wisdom, and eloquence. When he ceased to display these qualities, "the sceptre departed from him."

The king was surrounded by a council (*boulé*) of chiefs or nobles. This council, however, was simply an advisory body. The king listened to what the nobles had to say upon any measure he might propose, and then acted according to his own will or judgment, restrained only by the time-honored customs of the community.

Next to the council of the chiefs, there was a general assembly, called the *Agora*, made up of all the common freemen. The members of this body could not take part in any debate, nor could they vote upon any question. They were called together to hear matters discussed by the king and his chiefs, that they might know what was resolved upon, and perhaps learn the arguments for and against the resolution. This body, so devoid seemingly of all authority in the Homeric age, was destined to become the all-powerful popular assembly in the democratic cities of historic Greece.

Of the condition of the common freemen we know but little: the legendary tales were concerned chiefly with the kings and

nobles. We are certain, however, that the well-to-do class owned their farms, and cultivated them with their own hands; and that the poorer class labored for hire on the estates of the nobles. Slavery existed, but the slaves did not constitute as numerous a class as they became in historic times, nor do they seem in general to have been treated harshly.

In the family, the wife holds a much more dignified and honored position than she occupied in later times. The charming story of the constant Penelope, which we find in the *Odyssey*, assures us that the Homeric age cherished a chivalric feeling for woman.

In all ranks of society life was marked by a sort of patriarchal simplicity. Manual labor was not yet thought to be degrading. Ulysses constructs his own house and raft, and boasts of his skill in swinging the scythe and guiding the plow. Spinning and weaving were the chief occupation of the women of all classes.

One pleasing and prominent virtue of the age was hospitality. There were no public inns in those times, hence a sort of gentle necessity forced to the entertainment of wayfarers. The hospitality accorded was the same free and impulsive welcome that the Arab sheik of to-day extends to the traveller whom chance brings to his tent. The belief, too, that the gods sometimes visited the earth in the guise of men also prompted, in early times, the kindly reception of strangers, since thereby angels might haply be entertained unawares. The very best the house afforded was set before the wayfarer, and not till he had refreshed himself was he asked as to his journey and its object. When thus by chance a person, even though of another race, became the guest of a Greek, this circumstance made him, as it were, a kinsman, and henceforth a new relation subsisted between those thus casually brought together. One seeking a favor of another might claim that their ancestors had broken bread together, and the appeal was sacred, and seldom made in vain.

But while hospitable, the nobles of the heroic age were often cruel, violent, and treacherous. Homer represents his heroes as committing without a blush all sorts of frauds and villainies.

Piracy was considered an honorable occupation. "It was customary in welcoming a stranger to ask him whether his object in travelling was to enrich himself by piracy, just as we might to-day ask a person whether his object be to enrich himself by mercantile speculation."

Art and architecture were in a rudimentary state. Yet some advance had been made. The cities were walled, and the palaces of the kings possessed a certain barbaric splendor. Coined money was unknown; wealth was reckoned chiefly in flocks and herds, and in uncoined metals. The art of writing was probably unknown, at least there is no certain mention of it; and sculpture could not have been in an advanced state, as the Homeric poems make no mention of statues. Commerce was yet in its infancy. Although the Greeks were to become a great maritime people, still in the Homeric age they had evidently explored the sea but little. The Phœnicians then ruled the waves, and were the intermediaries of the Mediterranean world. The Greeks in those early times knew but little of the world beyond Greece proper and the neighboring islands and shores. Scarcely an echo of the din of life from the then ancient and mighty cities of Egypt and Chaldæa seems to have reached their ears.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.

Introductory. — Without at least some little knowledge of the religious ideas and institutions of the ancient Greeks, we should find very many passages of their history wholly unintelligible. Hence a few remarks in regard to these matters will be here in place. We shall begin with a word respecting the cosmography of the Greeks, or their ideas of the figure and relation of the different parts of the universe.

Cosmography of the Greeks. — The Greeks supposed the earth to be, as it appears, a plane, round in form like a shield. Around it flowed the "mighty strength of the ocean river," a stream broad and deep, beyond which on all sides lay realms of Cimmerian darkness and terror. From this encircling ocean stream, all the rivers and seas of the earth drew their waters. The heavens were a solid vault, or dome, whose edge shut down close upon the earth.

Beneath the earth, reached by subterranean passages, was Hades, a vast region, the realm of departed shades. Still beneath this was Tartarus, a pit deep and dark, made fast by strong gates of brass and iron. This awful prison-house of the Titans was as far beneath the earth as the heavens were above; and of the latter distance we are left to conjecture from the fact that when Zeus, in a fit of anger, hurled Hephæstus from the heavens to earth, he fell "from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve." Sometimes the poets represent the gloomy regions beyond the ocean stream, as the cheerless abode of the dead.¹

¹ These conceptions belong to the early period of Greek mythology. Later, when the geographical ideas of the Greeks had become more expanded, and their moral feelings had grown stronger, the topography of the under-world

The sun was an archer-god, borne in a fiery chariot up and down the steep pathway of the skies. Awaiting the god in the west, on the ocean stream, was a winged couch, in which he sank to rest while gentle winds wafted the golden vessel over the waters round to the east, where a new chariot and fresh steeds awaited him. Naturally it was imagined that the regions in the extreme east and west, which were bathed in the near splendors of the sunrise and the sunset, were lands of delight and plenty. The east-ern was the favored country of the Ethiopians, a land which even Zeus himself so loved to visit that often he was found absent from Olympus when sought by suppliants. The western region, adjoining the ocean stream, was the delightful Garden of the Hesperides. Here, too, were the Islands of the Blest (Elysium), the abodes of the shades of heroes and poets.

Insert **The Olympian Council.** — There were twelve members of the celestial council, six gods and as many goddesses. The male deities were Zeus, the father and ruler of gods and men, and the wielder of the thunderbolts; Poseidon, ruler of the sea; Apollo, or Phoebus, the god of light, of music, of healing, of poetry, and of prophecy; Ares, the god of war; Hephæstus, the deformed god of fire, and the patron of the useful arts dependent upon it, the forger of the thunderbolts of Zeus, and the fashioner of arms and of all sorts of metal work for the heroes and the gods; Hermes, the wing-footed herald of the celestials, the god of invention and of commerce, himself a thief and the patron of thieves.

The female divinities were Hera, the proud and rightly jealous queen of Zeus; Athena, or Pallas, — who sprang full-grown from

was considerably modified. Hades (at first called Erebus) was now conceived as consisting of two vast regions, Tartarus and Elysium, the former having been brought up from beneath and made the place of punishment for the souls of evil men, and the latter having been taken down from the western region of the earth (see above), and made the happy abode of all the righteous. See Keightley's *Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy*, pp. 80, 81, fourth edition.

the forehead of Zeus, — the goddess of wisdom, and the patroness of the domestic arts; Artemis, the goddess of the chase; Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, born of the sea-foam; Hestia, the goddess of the hearth; Demeter, the earth-mother, the goddess of grains and harvests.¹

Lesser Deities and Monsters. — Besides the great gods and goddesses that constituted the Olympian Council, there was an almost infinite number of other deities, celestial personages, and monsters neither human nor divine.

Hades (Pluto) ruled over the lower realms; Dionysus (Bacchus) was the god of wine; Eros (Cupid), of love; Iris was the goddess of the rainbow, and the special messenger of Zeus; Hebe (goddess) was the cupbearer of the celestials; the goddess Nemesis was the punisher of crime, and particularly the queller of the proud and arrogant; Æolus was the ruler of the winds, which he confined in a cave secured by mighty gates.

There were nine Muses, inspirers of art and song. The Nymphs (Naiads, Nereids, Dryads, Hamadryads, etc.) were beautiful maidens, who peopled the woods, the fields, the rivers, the lakes, and the ocean. Three Fates allotted life and death, and three Furies (Eumenides, or Erinnyes) avenged crime, especially murder and unnatural crimes. The Harpies were terrible monsters with female faces and the bodies and claws of birds. They were sisters, three in number, and lived on the Strophades, in the Ionian Sea. They tore and devoured their prey with greedy voracity. The Gorgons were also three sisters, with hair entwined with serpents. A single gaze upon them chilled the beholder to

¹ The Latin names of these divinities are as follows: Zeus = Jupiter; Poseidon = Neptune; Apollo = Apollo; Ares = Mars; Hephaestus = Vulcan; Hermes = Mercury; Hera = Juno; Athena = Minerva; Artemis = Diana; Aphrodite = Venus; Hestia = Vesta; Demeter = Ceres.

These Latin names, however, are not the equivalents of the Greek names, and should not be used as such. The mythologies of the Greeks and Romans were as distinct as their languages. Consult Rawlinson's *Religions of the Ancient World*.

26 EXPLANATION OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL MONSTERS.

stone. The Chimæra was a monster with "the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent, and vomited forth fire." (From this impossible monster we have come to call any improbable thing a "chimera.") Besides these there were the Dragon, which guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides; Cerberus, the watch-dog of Hades; Scylla and Charybdis, sea-monsters that made perilous the passage of the Sicilian Straits; the Centaurs, the Cyclops, the Sphinx, and a thousand others.

Explanations of the Mythological Monsters. — Many at least of these monsters were simply personifications of the human passions or of the malign and destructive powers of nature. Thus, according to some interpreters, the Furies were the embodiment of an aroused and accusing conscience; the Harpies were the swift storms, that tear to pieces and engulf the vessel of the mariner; the Gorgons were also tempests, which lash the sea into a fury that paralyzes the affrighted sailor; the Chimæra was a volcano in Lycia, whose foot and slopes abounded in different animals (the Chimæra flame is still seen issuing from a mountain opposite Olympus); Scylla and Charybdis were dangerous whirlpools off the coast of Sicily.

The fact that these monsters were merely personifications of human feelings or of the evil and terrifying powers or aspects of nature was, indeed, forgotten, or not understood at all, by the common people; they believed them to be real creatures, with all the parts and habits given them by the poets, — and often the poets themselves seemed possessed of the same idea.

Nature of the Gods. — The great gods and goddesses were simply magnified human beings, possessing all their virtues, and often their weaknesses. They give way to fits of anger and jealousy. "Zeus deceives, and Hera (Juno) is constantly practising her wiles." All the celestial council, at the sight of Hephæstus limping across the palace floor, burst into "inextinguishable laughter"; and Aphrodite, weeping, moves all to tears. They surpass mortals rather in power, than in size of body. They can render themselves visible or invisible to human eyes. Their food is am-

brosia and nectar; their movements are swift as light. They may suffer pain; but death can never come to them, for they are immortal. Their abode is Mount Olympus and the airy regions above the earth.

Modes of Divine Communication. — In the early ages the gods were wont, it was believed, to visit the earth and mingle with men. But even in Homer's time this familiar intercourse was a thing of the past — a tradition of a golden age that had passed away. Their forms were no longer seen, their voices no longer heard. In these later and more degenerate times the recognized modes of divine communication with men were by oracles, and by casual and unusual sights and sounds, as thunder and lightning, a sudden tempest, an eclipse, a flight of birds, — particularly of birds that mount to a great height, as these were supposed to know the secrets of the heavens, — the appearance or action of the sacrificial victims, or any strange coincidence.

The art of interpreting these signs or omens was called the art of divination. It is probable that this art was introduced into Greece from Chaldaea by the way of Egypt and the coast countries of Asia Minor.

Oracles. — But though the gods often revealed their will and intentions through signs and portents, still they granted a more special communication of counsel through what were known as *oracles*.¹ These communications, it was believed, were made by Zeus, and especially by Apollo, who was the god of prophecy, the Revealer.

Not everywhere, but only in chosen places, did these gods manifest their presence and communicate the divine will. These

¹ We should perhaps add that prophets were not unknown among the Greeks. These were persons who, like the Hebrew prophets, were believed to have a supernatural insight into the future. Sometimes this gift was hereditary, and then a family or house came to be regarded as set apart from ordinary men. Among the most noted of the Greek prophets were Tiresias, the blind soothsayer of Thebes, and Calchas, the adviser of the Grecians at the siege of Troy.

favoured spots were called oracles, as were also the responses there received. There were twenty-two oracles of Apollo in different parts of the Grecian world, but a much smaller number of those of Zeus. These were usually situated in wild and desolate spots — in dark forests or among gloomy mountains.

The most renowned of the oracles were that of the Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona, in Epirus, and that of Apollo at Delphi, in Phocis. At Dodona the priests listened in the dark forests for the voice of Zeus in the rustling leaves of the sacred oak. At Delphi there was a deep fissure in the ground, which emitted stupefying vapors, that were thought to be the inspiring breath of Apollo. Over the spot was erected a splendid temple, in honor of the oracle. The revelation was generally received by the Pythia, or priestess,¹ seated upon a tripod placed over the orifice. As she became overpowered by the influence of the prophetic exhalations, she uttered the message of the god. These mutterings of the Pythia were taken down by attendant priests, interpreted, and written in hexameter verse. Sometimes the will of Zeus was communicated to the pious seeker by dreams and visions granted to him while sleeping in the temple of the oracle.

The oracle of Delphi gained a celebrity wide as the world: it was often consulted by the monarchs of Asia and the people of Rome in time of extreme danger and perplexity. Among the Greeks scarcely any undertaking was entered upon without the will and sanction of the oracle being first sought.

Especially true was this in the founding of colonies. Apollo was believed "to take delight in the foundation of new cities." No colony could prosper that had not been established under the superintendence of the Delphian god.²

¹ "Apollo speaks through the mouth of feeble girls and women, as a sign that it is no human wisdom and art which reveals the divine will." — CURTIUS.

² The priests of the sanctuary kept themselves perfectly informed respecting the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and thus were able intelligently to direct these great undertakings. It was in its superintendence of Greek colonization that, in the estimation of Curtius, the Delphian oracle rendered its greatest and most permanent service to civilization.

Some of the responses of the oracle contained plain and wholesome advice; but very many of them, particularly those that implied a knowledge of the future, were obscure and ingeniously ambiguous, so that they might correspond with the event however affairs should turn, and thus the credit of the oracle be unimpaired. Thus, Croesus is told that, if he undertake his expedition against Persia, he will destroy a great empire. He did, indeed; — but the empire was his own. Again, the Spartans, seeking to know whether they will be successful in a contemplated war against the Athenians, are told that they "will gain the victory, if they will fight with all their might."

While it doubtless is true that the oracles owed their origin to a misinterpretation — by an age entertaining childlike conceptions of the divine government of the world — of certain psychical phenomena, such as those upon which modern spiritualism is based, still they in a great measure owed their perpetuation, as has already been intimated, to deceit and fraud. The priestly colleges that controlled the sanctuaries became corrupt, and sold their influence to designing politicians, who by bribes secured such responses as would further their ends.

The Delphian oracle was at the height of its fame before the Persian War; in that crisis it did not take a bold or patriotic stand, and its reputation was sensibly impaired.

Ideas of the Future. — To the Greeks life was so bright and joyous a thing that they looked upon death as a great calamity. They therefore pictured life after death, except in the case of a favored few, as being hopeless and aimless.¹ The Elysian Fields, away in the land of sunset, were, indeed, filled with every delight; but these were the abode only of the great heroes and benefactors of the race. The great mass of mankind were doomed to Hades,

¹ Homer makes the shade of the great Achilles in Hades to say: —

"I would be
A laborer on earth, and serve for hire
Some man of mean estate, who makes scant cheer,
Rather than reign o'er all who have gone down
To death." — *Od.* XI. 489-92 [Bryant's Trans.].

where the spirit existed as "a feeble, joyless phantom." While we believe that the soul, freed from the body by the event of death, becomes stronger and more active, the Greeks thought that without the body it became but a feeble image of its former self. So long as the body remained unburied, the shade wandered restless in Hades; hence the sacredness of the rites of sepulture.

Self **The Sacred Games.**—The celebrated games of the Greeks had their origin in the belief of their Aryan ancestors that the shades of the dead were gratified or appeased by such spectacles as delighted them during their earthly life. During the Heroic Age these festivals were simply sacrifices or games performed at the tomb, or about the pyre of the dead. Gradually these grew into religious festivals observed by an entire city or community, and were celebrated near the oracle or shrine of the god in whose honor they were instituted; the idea now being that the gods were present at the festival, and took delight in the various contests and exercises. It was this sentiment and belief of the Greeks which lent such sanctity and importance to these festivals.

By the sixth century B.C. they had lost their local and assumed a national character. Among these festivals, four acquired a world-wide celebrity. These were the Olympian, celebrated in honor of Zeus, at Olympia, in the Peloponnesus; the Pythian, in honor of Apollo, near his shrine and oracle at Delphi; the Nemean, in honor of Zeus, at Nemea; and the Isthmian, held in honor of Poseidon, on the narrow isthmus of Corinth.

Self **The Olympian Games.**—Of these four national festivals the Olympian secured the greatest renown. In 776 B.C. Corcebus was victor in the foot-race at Olympia, and as from that time the names of the victors were carefully registered, that year came to be used by the Greeks as the starting-point in their chronology. The games were held every fourth year, and the intervals between two successive festivals was known as an Olympiad. The date of an occurrence was given by saying that it happened in the first, second, third, or fourth year of such an Olympiad—the first, second, or third, etc.

The contests consisted of foot-races, boxing, wrestling, and other athletic games. Later, chariot-racing was introduced, and became the most popular of all the contests. The competitors must be of the Hellenic race; must have undergone ten months' training in the gymnasium; and must, moreover, be unblemished by any crime against the state or sin against the gods. Spectators from all parts of the world crowded to the festival. The deputies of the different states vied with one another in the richness and splendor of their chariots and equipments, and in the magnificence of their retinues.

The victor was crowned with a garland of wild olives; heralds proclaimed his name abroad; his native city received him as a conqueror, sometimes through a breach made in the city walls; his statues, executed by eminent artists, were erected at Olympia and in his own city; sometimes even divine honor and worship were accorded to him; and poets and orators vied with the artist in perpetuating the name and deeds of him who had reflected undying honor upon his native state.

Imp **Influence of the Grecian Games.** — For more than a thousand years these national festivals exerted an immense influence upon the social, religious, and literary life of Hellas. They enkindled among the widely scattered Hellenic states and colonies a common literary taste and enthusiasm; for into all the four great festivals, excepting the Olympian, were introduced, sooner or later, contests in poetry, oratory, and history. During the festivals, poets and historians read their choicest productions, and artists exhibited their masterpieces. The extraordinary honors accorded to the victors stimulated the contestants to the utmost, and strung to the highest tension every power of body and mind. To this fact we owe some of the grandest productions of the Greek race.

They moreover promoted intercourse and trade; for the festivals naturally became great centres of traffic and exchange during the continuance of the games. They softened, too, the manners of the people, turning their thoughts from martial exploits and giving the states respite from war; for during the month in which

the religious games were held it was sacrilegious to engage in military expeditions.

They also promoted intercourse between the different Grecian cities, or states, and kept alive common Hellenic feelings and sentiments. In all these ways, though they never drew the states into a common political union, still they did impress a common character upon their social, intellectual, and religious life.

Sup **The Amphictyonic Council.** — Closely connected with the religious festivals were the so-called Amphictyonies, or "leagues of neighbors." These were associations of a number of cities or tribes for the celebration of religious rites at some shrine, or for the protection of some particular temple.

Pre-eminent among all such unions was that known as the Delphic Amphictyony, or simply The Amphictyony. This was a league of twelve of the sub-tribes of Hellas, whose main object was the protection of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Another of its purposes was, by humane regulations, to mitigate the cruelties of war. This was one of the first steps taken in the practice of international law. The following oath was taken by the members of the league: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or in peace; if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice, and by every means in our power."

Another duty of the Amphictyonic tribes was to keep in repair the roads leading to the Delphian sanctuary. These were carefully levelled, and in rocky places smooth grooves of uniform gauge¹ were cut for the wheels of the chariots and gayly decorated cars which went up in a sort of festival procession to the games.

The so-called First Sacred War was a crusade of ten years car-

¹ "Throughout the territories of the Amphictyons in Central Greece and the Peloponnesus, these tracks had a uniform width of five feet and four inches."
— CURTIUS.

ried on by the Amphictyons against the cities of Crissa and Cirrha for their robbery of the treasures of the Delphian temple. The cities were finally taken, levelled to the ground, and the wrath of the gods invoked upon any one who should dare to rebuild them. This contest occurred in the first part of the sixth century B.C. (600-590). The spoils of the war were devoted to the establishment of musical contests in honor of the Delphian Apollo. Thus originated the renowned Pythian festivals, to which allusion has already been made (see p. 30).

Doctrine of the Divine Jealousy. — One notion which the Greeks entertained concerning their gods colored so deeply all their conceptions of life that we must not fail to make mention of it here.

They were impressed, as all peoples and generations have been, with the mutations of fortune and the vicissitudes of life. Their observation and experience had taught them that long-continued good fortune and unusual prosperity often issue at last in sudden and overwhelming calamity. They attributed this to the jealousy of the gods, who, they imagined, were envious of mortals that through such prosperity seemed to have become too much like one of themselves. Thus the Greeks believed the downfall of Croesus, after his extraordinary course of uninterrupted prosperity, to have been brought about by the envy of the celestials, and they colored the story to bear out this version of the matter.

Later, this idea of the divine *envy* was moralized into a conception of the righteous *indignation* of the gods, aroused by the insolence and presumptuous pride so inevitably engendered by over-great prosperity (see p. 161).

The Suppliant. — Whoso hardened his heart against the appeal of the suppliant, him the Furies pursued with undying vengeance. But only through certain formalities could one avail himself of the rights of a suppliant. Should one, upon the commission of a crime, flee to a temple, he became a suppliant of the god to whose altar he clung, and to harm him there was a most awful desecration of the shrine. The gods punished with dreadful severity

such impiety, and an inexpiable curse rested upon the house of the offender, while awful calamities were sure to fall upon the city or community that tolerated the presence of the accursed. Time and again the entire course of events in Greece was completely changed by the public feeling of aversion and anger aroused against some powerful family on account of some act of the nature of that mentioned, committed by one or more of its members (see pp. 51, 82).

To sit or kneel at the hearth of an enemy was also a most solemn form of supplication. An olive branch borne in the hand was still another form of supplication, which rendered especially sacred and inviolable the person of him who thus appealed for clemency.

We must here add, in order to anticipate the perplexity that might otherwise trouble the reader, that the harsh doctrine mentioned above of the inexpiable and hereditary character of certain crimes, was finally, like the idea of the Divine Jealousy, softened and moralized, and that it came to be believed that by certain rites of purification full atonement might be made for personal or ancestral guilt, and thus the workings of the original curse be stayed.

CHAPTER IV. *1/2 for Tues.*AGE OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AND OF COLONIZATION:
GROWTH OF SPARTA AND OF ATHENS.

(776-500 B.C.)

I. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PERIOD.

Introductory. — A hasty sketch, such as we propose to give in this section, of the general features of the period upon which we now enter, — the period embraced between the close of the Legendary Age and the beginning of the Persian Wars, — will serve as a sort of introduction to the history during this same time of Sparta and Athens, the representative cities of Greece. On the other hand, the story of the early growth of these cities, which we shall give in the two following sections, will in turn illustrate what we shall here have to say respecting Hellenic affairs in general during this formative period of Greek history.

copy **The Homeric Monarchies give Place to Oligarchies.** — We have seen that in the Heroic Age the preferred form of government was a patriarchal monarchy. The *Iliad* says, "The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only, — one king, — him to whom Zeus has given the sceptre and the tutelary sanctions."¹

But by the dawn of the historic period, the patriarchal monarchies of the Achæan age had given place, in almost all the Grecian cities, to oligarchies or aristocracies. The power of the "Zeus-born" kings had passed into the hands of the nobles of his council. In Sparta, however, the monarchy was not actually abolished, though the kings — there were two — were, as we shall learn, robbed of so much of their power that they remained scarcely more than shadow-sovereigns.

¹ II. 203-206.

Long The Oligarchies give Way to Tyrannies. — As the Homeric monarchies were superseded by oligarchies, so these in turn were superseded by tyrannies.

The nobles into whose hands the ancient royal authority had passed were often divided among themselves, and invariably opposed by the common freemen, who, as they grew in intelligence and wealth, naturally aspired to a place in the government. The issue of long contentions was the overthrow almost everywhere of oligarchical government and the establishment of the rule of a single person.

Usually this person was one of the nobility, who held himself out as the champion of the people, and who with their help usurped the government. One who had thus seized the government was called a Tyrant (*tyrannos*). By this term the Greeks did not mean one who rules harshly, but simply one who holds the supreme authority in the state illegally. Some of the Greek Tyrants were mild and beneficent rulers, though too often they were all that the name implies among us. Sparta was almost the only important state that did not fall into the hands of a Tyrant.

The so-called Age of the Tyrants lasted from 650 to 500 B.C. As is usual with usurpers, the Greek Tyrants exerted themselves to make their rule attractive by making it splendid. They instituted religious festivals, undertook great public works, and often gave a magnificent patronage to artists and poets. Hence the age of the Tyrannies was an important one in the history of Hellenic art and culture.

But the Tyrants sat upon very unstable thrones. The Greeks always had an inextinguishable hatred of arbitrary rule; and of course the nobles who were excluded from the government were continually plotting against the power of the usurper. Consequently the Tyrannies were, as a rule, short-lived, rarely lasting longer than three generations. They were usually violently overthrown, and the old oligarchies re-established, or democracies set up in their place. As a rule, the Dorian cities preferred oligarchical, and the Ionian cities democratical, government.

Sparta, which, as has been noted, never fell into the hands of a despot, was very active in aiding those cities that had been so unfortunate as to have their governments usurped by tyrants, to drive out the usurpers, and to re-establish their aristocratical constitutions. Athens, as we shall see, became the champion of democracy.

Among the most noted of the Tyrants were the Pisistratidæ, at Athens, of whom we shall speak hereafter; Periander, at Corinth (625-585 B.C.), who was a most cruel ruler, yet so generous a patron of artists and literary men that he was thought worthy of a place among the Seven Sages; and Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos (535-522 B.C.), who, with that island as a stronghold, and with a fleet of a hundred war-galleys, built up a sort of maritime kingdom in the Ægean, and for the space of more than a decade enjoyed such astonishing and uninterrupted prosperity, that it was believed his sudden downfall and death — he was allured to the Asian shore by a Persian satrap, and crucified — were brought about by the envy of the gods.¹

Lawgivers. — This period of political strife and constitutional changes gave birth in the Greek cities to numerous statesmen of great political discernment and sagacity, like Moses among the Hebrews, who drew up codes of laws and constitutions that formed the basis of the aristocratical and democratical governments to which we have alluded.

Among the most noted of these lawgivers were Lycurgus, to whom tradition assigns the framing of the Spartan constitution, and Solon and Cleisthenes, who established the democratical

¹ Herodotus tells how Amasis of Egypt, the friend and ally of the Tyrant, becoming alarmed at his extraordinary course of good fortune, wrote him, begging him to interrupt it and disarm the envy of the gods by sacrificing his most valued possession. Polycrates, acting upon the advice, threw into the sea a precious ring, which he highly prized; but soon afterwards the jewel was found by his servants in a fish that a fisherman had brought to the palace as a present for Polycrates. When Amasis heard of this, he at once broke off his alliance with the Tyrant, feeling sure that he was fated to suffer some terrible reverse of fortune. The event justified his worst fears.

constitution of Athena. Of these great lawgivers we shall have much to say in the following sections.

➤ **The Founding of Colonies.** — This same age of political strife and of tyranny also coincides with the era of greatest activity in the founding of new colonies. Thousands, driven from their homes, like the Puritans in the time of the Stuart tyranny in England, fled over the seas, and, under the direction of the Delphian Apollo, laid upon remote and widely separated shores the basis of "Dispersed Hellas." The overcrowding of population and the Greek love of enterprise and adventure, as well as civil dissensions, also contributed to swell the number of emigrants.¹

During this colonizing era Southern Italy became so thickly set with Greek cities as to become known as *Magna Græcia*, "Great Greece." Here were founded during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. the important Dorian city of Tarentum; the wealthy and luxurious Æolian city of Sybaris (whence the term *Sybarite*, meaning a voluptuary); the great Croton, — the destroyer of Sybaris, — distinguished for its schools of philosophy and its victors in the Olympian games; and Rhegium, the mother of statesmen, historians, poets, and artists.²

¹ That Greek feeling of local patriotism of which we have already spoken (see p. 8) lent a peculiar character to Greek colonization. The Hellenic colonies, unlike those of modern times, were, as a rule, politically independent of the mother city. Each colony formed a distinct, self-governing state. Its relations to its mother city were simply those of filial piety, and of a common worship. This was symbolized by the embers which the emigrants carried with them from the hearth of the mother city, with which to kindle the altar fires of the new home.

Besides these independent colonies, however, which were united to the mother city by the ties of friendship and reverence alone, there was another class of colonies known as *kleruchies*. The settlers in these did not lose their rights of citizenship in the mother city, which retained full control of their affairs. Such settlements, however, were more properly garrisons than colonies, and were few in number, compared with the independent communities.

² Kyme (Cumæ), famed throughout the Grecian and the Roman world on account of its oracle and Sibyl, is said to have been founded as early as 1050 B.C.



GREECE
and the
GREEK COLONIES.

- Ionian*.....■
- Doric*.....▬
- Other Greek Races*.....■
- Phoenician*.....■



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Upon the island of Sicily was planted by the Dorian Corinth the city of Syracuse (734 B.C.), which, before Rome had become great, waged war on equal terms with Carthage. Here also were established the Dorian Agrigentum, — the scene of the incredible cruelties of the Tyrant Phalaris, — and a long list of large and flourishing colonies.

In the Gulf of Lyons was established about 600 B.C. the important Ionian city of Massalia (Marseilles), the radiating point of long routes of travel and trade.

On the African coast was founded the great Dorian city of Cyrene (630 B.C.), and probably about the same time was established in the Nile delta the recently excavated city of Naucratis, which was the centre of the Greek population there, and through which the civilization of Egypt flowed into Greece.

The tide of emigration flowed not only to the west and south, but to the north as well. The northern shores of the Ægean and those of the Hellespont and the Propontis were fringed with colonies. The Argonautic terrors of the Black Sea were forgotten or unheeded, and even those remote shores received their emigrants. Many of the settlements in that quarter were established by the Ionian city of Miletus, which, swarming like a hive, became the mother of more than eighty colonies.

Through this wonderful colonizing movement Greece came to hold somewhat the same place in the ancient Mediterranean world that England as a colonizer occupies in the world of to-day. Many of these colonies not only reflected honor upon the mother-land through the just renown of their citizens, but through their singularly free, active, and progressive life, exerted upon her a most healthful and stimulating influence. The earliest poets, artists, and philosophers of Hellas were natives of the Asiatic or European colonial cities.

II. THE GROWTH OF SPARTA.

Gradual Rise of Sparta. — Sparta was one of the cities of the Peloponnesus which owed their origin or importance to the

Dorian Invasion (see p. 17). It was situated in the deep valley of the Eurotas, in Laconia, and took its name Sparta (sown land) from the circumstance that it was built upon tillable ground, whereas the heart and centre of most Greek cities consisted of a lofty rock (the citadel, or acropolis). It was also called Lacedæmon, after an early legendary king.

At first, Sparta was overshadowed by the city of Argos, — since the return of the Heraclidæ, in Dorian hands, — but gradually she rose to the place of pre-eminence among all the cities of the peninsula. Her power was largely the outgrowth of her peculiar political constitution, one of the most remarkable ever framed by any state. It is this constitution, with which Sparta presents herself to us in the light of the historic period, that we must now examine.

27 **Classes in the Spartan State.** — In order to understand the social and political institutions of the Spartans, we must first notice the three classes — Spartans (*Spartiatæ*), Perioeci, and Helots — into which the population of Laconia was divided.

The Spartans proper were the descendants of the conquerors of the country, and were Dorian in race and language. They composed but a small fraction of the entire population. Their relations to the conquered people were those of an army of occupation. Sparta, their capital, was simply a vast camp, unprotected by any walls until later and degenerate times. The martial valor of its citizens was thought its only proper defence.

The Perioeci (dwellers around) who constituted the second class, were the subjugated Achæans. They were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but were forced to pay tribute, and, in times of war, to fight for the glory and interest of their Spartan masters.

The third and lowest class was composed of slaves, or serfs, called Helots. The larger number of these were laborers upon the estates of the Spartans. They were the property of the state, and not of the individual Spartan lords, among whom they were distributed by lot.

These Helots practically had no rights which their Spartan

masters felt bound to respect. If one of their number displayed unusual powers of body or mind, he was secretly assassinated, as it was deemed unsafe to allow such qualities to be fostered in this servile class. It is affirmed that when the Helots grew too numerous for the safety of the state, their numbers were thinned by a deliberate massacre of the surplus population.¹

Origin of the Spartan Institutions. — The laws and customs of the Spartans have excited more interest, perhaps, than any similar institutions of the ancient world. A mystery and halo were thrown about them by their being attributed to the creative genius of a single lawgiver, Lycurgus.

But it is a proverb that constitutions grow, and are not made. Circumstances were the real creators of those strange institutions — the circumstances which surrounded a small band of conquerors in the midst of a large and subject population. Nor were they the creation of an hour — the fruit of a happy inspiration. All the events of the early conquest, all the toils, dangers, and hardships which the Dorian warriors endured in the subjugation of the land, and all the prudence and watchfulness necessary to the maintaining of themselves in the position of conquerors, helped to determine the unusual and harsh character of the laws and regulations of the Spartan state.

The work of Lycurgus, then, was not that of a new creation.

¹ In his history of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides makes the following statement: "Dreading the youth and number of their slaves, the Lacedæmonians, who have ever put in practice many precautions to curb and awe their Helots, made public proclamation, that so many of them as could claim the merit of having done signal services to the Lacedæmonians in the present war should enter their claims, and be rewarded with freedom. The view in this was, to sound them, it being thought that such as had the greatness of spirit to claim their freedom in requital of their merit, must be also the ripest for rebellion. About two thousand claimants were adjudged worthy of freedom, and accordingly were led about in solemn procession to the temple, crowned with garlands, as men honored with their liberty. But, in no long time after, they made away with them all; nor has the world been able to discover in what manner they were thus to a man destroyed."

THE LEGEND OF LYCURGUS.

Back of him lay a long period of growth and development. His labor was that of a wise and far-seeing statesman, whose work it is to "modify and shape already-existing habits and customs into rule and law"; to make additions and improvements; to anticipate growing tastes and tendencies. The very fact that the legislation of Lycurgus was adopted and became the system of a state, shows that it must have been simply the outgrowth of customs and regulations already familiar and consequently acceptable to at least a large party among the Spartans.

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XX **The Legend of Lycurgus.** — Lycurgus, according to tradition, lived and did his work about the ninth century B.C. Many of the best years of his life were spent in exile. He is represented as acquainting himself with the laws and institutions of different lands, by converse with their priests and sages. He is said to have studied with great zeal the laws of Minos, the legendary lawgiver of the Cretans. Like the great legislator Moses, he became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Legend tells, too, how he journeyed as far as India, and became a disciple of the Brahmins.

The prime of life was almost passed when he returned to his native Sparta. So great was his reputation for learning and wisdom that he soon became the leader of a strong party. After much opposition, a system of laws and regulations drawn up by him was adopted by the Spartan people. Then, binding his countrymen by a solemn oath that they would carefully observe his laws during his absence, he set out on a pilgrimage to Delphi. In response to his inquiry, the oracle assured him that Sparta would endure and prosper as long as the people obeyed the laws he had given them. Lycurgus caused this answer to be carried to his countrymen; and then, that they might remain bound by the oath they had taken, he resolved never to return. He went into an unknown exile. Three lands claimed to hold his dust; and the Spartans in after years perpetuated his memory and their own gratitude by temples and sacrifices in his honor.¹

¹ "The legend symbolizes the inviolability of the Constitution." — RANKE.

sub
The Kings, the Senate, and the Popular Assembly. — The so-called Constitution of Lycurgus provided for two joint kings, a Senate of Elders, and a Popular Assembly.

The two kings corresponded in some respects to the two Consuls in the later Roman republic. One served as a check upon the other. This double sovereignty worked admirably; for five centuries there were no attempts on the part of the Spartan kings to subvert the constitution. The power of the joint kings, it should be added, was rather nominal than real (save in time of war); so that while the Spartan government was monarchical in form, it in reality was an aristocracy, the Spartans corresponding very closely to the feudal lords of Mediæval Europe.

The Senate (*gerousia*) consisted of twenty-eight elders. The two co-ordinate kings were also members, thus raising the number to thirty. This body existed long before the time of Lycurgus. He probably simply modified, or added to, its powers and duties. No one could become a member of this body until he had reached the age of sixty. The mode of election was peculiar. The committee who were to decide between the candidates were confined in a chamber near the public assembling-place, where, without seeing what was going on, they might hear the clamor of the people. Then the candidates were presented to the meeting, one by one, and the partisans of each greeted their favorite with great and prolonged applause. It was the duty of the committee to decide which candidate had been received with the greatest enthusiasm and clamor, and he was declared the people's choice. The proceedings in our own political conventions are not very dissimilar to this usage of the Spartan assembly.

The powers of the Senate were at first almost unlimited, extending to matters of life and death. After a time there was established the office of *ephor*. The ephors, who were five in number and elected by the Popular Assembly, gradually absorbed the powers and functions of the Senate, as well as the authority of the two associate kings.

The Popular Assembly was composed of all the citizens of

Sparta over thirty years of age. By this body laws were made, and questions of peace and war decided; but nothing could be brought before it save such matters as the Senate had previously decided might be entertained by it. It was by this assembly that the senators were elected in the manner above described.

In striking contrast to what was the custom at Athens, all matters were decided without debate. The Spartans were fighters, not talkers; they hated discussion. As in the case of the elections, the decision of the assembly respecting a measure was generally made known by acclamation. Sometimes, however, very important measures were decided by vote.

\\ **Regulations as to Lands and Money.**—At the time of Lycurgus the lands of Laconia had become absorbed by the rich, leaving the masses in poverty and distress. It is certain that the lawgiver did much to remedy this ruinous state of affairs. Tradition says that all the lands were redistributed, an equal portion being assigned to each of the nine thousand Spartan citizens, and a smaller and less desirable portion to each of the thirty thousand Perioeci,—but it is not probable that there was any such exact equalization of property.

The Spartans were forbidden to engage in trade; all their time must be passed in the chase, or in gymnastic and martial exercise. Iron was made the sole money of the state. This, according to Plutarch, "was of great size and weight, and of small value, so that the equivalent for ten minæ (about \$140) required a great room for its stowage, and a yoke of oxen to draw it." The object of this, he tells us, was to prevent its being used for the purchase of "foreign trumpery."¹

¹ The real truth about this iron money is simply this: The conservative, non-trading Spartans retained longer than the other Grecian states the use of a primitive medium of exchange. Gold and silver money was not introduced into Sparta until about the close of the fifth century B.C., when the great expansion of her interests rendered a change in her money-system absolutely necessary. In referring the establishment of the early currency to Lycurgus, the Spartans simply did in this case just what they did in regard to their other usages.

The Public Tables. — The most peculiar, perhaps, of the Lyncur-gean institutions were the public meals (*syssitia*). In order to correct the extravagance with which the tables of the rich were often spread, Lycurgus ordered that all the Spartan citizens should eat at public and common tables. Each person was required to contribute to these a certain amount of flour, fruit, game, or pieces from the sacrifices; if any one failed to pay his contribution, he was degraded and disfranchised. Excepting the ephors, none, not even the kings, were excused from sitting at the common mess. One of the kings, returning from a long expedition, presumed to dine privately with his wife, but received therefor a severe reproof.

A luxury-loving Athenian, once visiting Sparta and seeing the coarse fare of the citizens, is reported to have declared that now he understood the Spartan disregard of life in battle. "Any one," said he, "must naturally prefer death to life on such fare as this."

Education of the Youth. — Children were considered as belonging to the state. Every infant was brought before the Council of Elders; and if it did not seem likely to become a robust and useful citizen, it was exposed in a mountain glen. At seven the education and training of the youth were committed to the charge of public officers, called boy-trainers. The aim of the entire course, as to the boys, was to make a nation of soldiers who should despise toil and danger and prefer death to military dishonor. The mind was cultivated only so far as might contribute to the main object of the system. Reading and writing were untaught, and the art of rhetoric was despised. Only martial poems were recited. The Spartans had a profound contempt for the subtleties and literary acquirements of the Athenians. Spartan brevity was a proverb, whence our word *laconic*,¹ implying a concise and pithy mode of expression. Boys were taught to respond in the fewest words possible. At the public tables they were not permitted to speak until questioned: they sat "silent as statues."

¹ From Laconia, the name of the district taken possession of by the Spar-

As Plutarch puts it, "Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value; and the language, on the contrary, very pithy and short, and a great deal of sense compressed in a few words."

But while the mind was neglected, the body was carefully trained. In leaping, wrestling, and in hurling the spear the Spartans acquired the most surprising nimbleness and dexterity.

But before all things else was the Spartan youth taught to bear pain unflinchingly. He was inured to the cold of winter by being forced to pass through that season with only the light dress of summer. His bed was a bundle of river reeds. Sometimes he was placed before the altar of Artemis, and scourged just for the purpose of accustoming his body to pain. Frequently, it is said, boys died under the lash, without betraying their suffering by look or moan.

Another custom tended to the same end as the foregoing usage. The boys were at times compelled to forage for their food. If detected, they were severely punished for having been so unskilful as not to get safely away with their booty. This custom, as well as the fortitude of the Spartan youth, is familiar to all through the story of the boy who, having stolen a young fox and concealed it beneath his tunic, allowed the animal to tear out his vitals, without betraying himself by the movement of a muscle.

The Cryptia, which has generally been represented as an organization of young Spartans who were allowed, as a means of rendering themselves ready and expert in war, to hunt and kill the Helots, seems in reality to have been a sort of police institution, designed to guard against uprisings of the serfs.

Estimate of the Spartan Institutions.—That the laws and regulations of the Spartan constitution were admirably adapted to the end in view,—the rearing of a nation of skilful and resolute warriors,—the long military supremacy of Sparta among the states of Greece abundantly attests. But when we consider the aim and object of the Spartan institutions, we must pronounce them low and unworthy. The true order of things was just reversed among

the Lacedæmonians. Government exists for the individual: at Sparta the individual lived for the state. The body is intended to be the instrument of the mind: the Spartans reversed this, and attended to the education of the mind only so far as its development enhanced the effectiveness of the body as a weapon in warfare.

Spartan history teaches how easy it is for a nation, like an individual, to misdirect its energies — to subordinate the higher to the lower. It illustrates, too, the fact that only those nations that labor to develop that which is best and highest in man make helpful contributions to the progress of the world. Sparta, in significant contrast to Athens, bequeathed nothing to posterity.

▷ **The Messenian Wars.** — The most important event in Spartan history between the age of Lycurgus and the commencement of the Persian War was the long contest with Messenia, known as the First and Second Messenian wars (about 750–650 B.C.).

Messenia was one of the districts of the Peloponnesus which, like Laconia, had been taken possession of by the Dorians at the time of the great invasion. It was the most fertile of all the Dorian provinces. The Messenians were aided in the struggle by Argos and other Peloponnesian states, which were jealous of the rising power of Sparta.

It is told that the Spartans, in the second war, falling into despair, sent to Delphi for advice. The oracle directed them to ask Athens for a commander. The Athenians did not wish to aid the Lacedæmonians, yet dared not oppose the oracle. So they sent Tyrteus, a poet-schoolmaster, who they hoped and thought would prove of but little service to Sparta. Whatever truth there may be in this part of the story, it seems indisputable that, during the Second Messenian War, Tyrteus, an Attic poet, reanimated the drooping spirits of the Spartans by the energy of his martial strains. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that Sparta owed her final victory to the inspiring songs of this martial poet.

The conquered Messenians were reduced to serfdom, and their condition was made as degrading and bitter as that of the Helots

POWER OF SPARTA.

of Laconia. Many, choosing exile, pushed out into the western seas in search of new homes. Some of the fugitives founded Rhegium, in Italy; others, settling in Sicily, gave name and importance to the still existing city of Messina.

Power of Sparta.—After having secured possession of Messenia, Sparta conquered the southern part of Argolis, and thus gained control of a long strip of the eastern coast of the peninsula. All the southern portion of the Peloponnesus was now subject to her commands.

On the north, Sparta extended her power over many of the villages, or townships, of Arcadia; but her advance in this direction was at last checked by Tegea, a border town towards Laconia, and one of the few important Arcadian cities. Yet notwithstanding the Tegeans had successfully withstood the arms of Sparta, still they now (about 560 B.C.) entered into an alliance with her, and ever after remained her faithful friend and helper. This alliance was one of the main sources of Spartan preponderance in Greece during the next hundred years and more.

As the most powerful state in the Peloponnesus, Sparta now assumed the leadership of the sacred league that protected the shrine of Zeus at Olympia, and through the Pan-Hellenic games there celebrated every four years (see p. 30), caused her fame to be spread even beyond the limits of Hellas. Croesus, king of Lydia, sought an alliance with her in his unfortunate war with Persia, which just now was the rising power in Asia.

III. THE GROWTH OF ATHENS.¹

The Attic People.—The population of Attica in historic times was essentially Ionian in race, but there were in it strains of other

¹ This section in the present edition has been rewritten and, in so far as space would allow, the fresh information given us by the recently discovered work of Aristotle on the *Athenian Constitution* incorporated in the text. For details see Kenyon's "Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens"; also Botsford's "The Development of the Athenian Constitution" (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*).

Hellenic and of non-Hellenic stocks. This mixed origin of the population is believed to be one secret of the versatile yet well-balanced character which distinguished the Attic people above all other branches of the Hellenic family. It is not the absolutely pure, but the mixed races, like the English people, that have made the largest contributions to civilization.

18 **The Site of Athens.**—Four or five miles from the sea, a flat-topped rock, about one thousand feet in length and half as many in width, rises with abrupt cliffs, one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the plains of Attica. The security afforded by this eminence doubtless led to its selection as a stronghold by the early Attic settlers. Here a few buildings, perched upon the summit of the rock and surrounded by a palisade, constituted the beginning of the capital whose fame has spread over all the world.

19 **The Kings of Athens.**—When, in the seventh century B.C., the mists of antiquity clear away from the plain of Attica, Athens with an oligarchical government appears as the capital of the entire district. It is evident that back of this period stretches a long prehistoric development; but of the incidents of that early growth we are left in almost total ignorance. It is certain, however, that during the Heroic Age Athens was ruled by kings, like all the other Grecian cities. The names of Theseus and Codrus are the most noted of the regal line.

To Theseus, as we have seen (see p. 12), tradition ascribed the work of uniting the different Attic villages, or cantons, twelve in number, into a single city, on the seat of the ancient Cecropia (see p. 7). This prehistoric union, however or by whomsoever effected, laid the basis of the greatness of Athens.¹

Respecting Codrus, the following legend is told: At one time the Dorians from the Peloponnesus invaded Attica. Codrus hav-

¹ "The consolidation of the Attic Demoi [*demes*, or townships] into a single state would answer to the gradual absorption of the several English kingdoms under the sovereignty of the chiefs of Wessex. In the one case, as in the other, the task was not accomplished in a day, nor without violent struggles."
—Cox, *History of Greece*.

ing learned that an oracle had assured them of success if they spared the life of the Athenian king, disguised himself, and, with a single companion, made an attack upon some Spartan soldiers, who instantly slew him. Discovering that the king of Athens had fallen by a Lacedæmonian sword, the Spartans despaired of taking the city, and withdrew from the country.

Just **The Archons.** — Codrus was the last hereditary king of Athens. His successor, elected by the nobles from the royal family, was simply ruler for life. There were twelve life-kings, and then (in 752 B.C.) the authority of the regal office was still further diminished by limiting the rule of the king to ten years. Forty years later the office was thrown open to all the nobles, and soon afterwards (in 682 B.C.) the term of office was reduced to one year. As the power of the king was diminished, his old-time duties were assigned to magistrates chosen by the nobles from among themselves. The outcome of these changes was that a little after the opening of the seventh century we find a board of nine persons, called Archons, of whom the king in a subordinate position was one, standing at the head of the Athenian state. The old Homeric monarchy had become an oligarchy.

Just **The Council of the Areopagus.** — Besides the board of Archons there was in the Athenian state at this time a very important tribunal, called the Council of the Areopagus.¹ This council was composed exclusively of ex-Archons, and consequently was a purely aristocratic body. Its members held office for life. The duty of the council was to see that the laws were duly observed, and to judge and punish transgressors. To this court was committed particularly the care of morals and religion. It probably was in the presence of this venerable tribunal that the apostle Paul stood when he made his eloquent defence of Christianity. (See Acts xvii, 22-32.)

Thus, when the historic period opens, we find the govern-

¹ So called from the name of the hill ("Ἀρεος ὄρεος," "Hill of Ares") which was the assembling place of the council.

ment at Athens in the hands of the nobles. The common people had no part in the management of public affairs. Many of them lived as tenants in a state little removed from serfdom upon the domains of the wealthy nobles. If one became unable to pay his debts, both he and his wife and children might be seized by his creditor and sold as slaves. Thus because of their wretched economic condition, as well as because of their exclusion from the government, the commons were filled with bitterness against the nobles and were ready for revolution.

The Rebellion of Cylon (probably 628 or 624 B.C.¹).—Taking advantage of the unrest in the state, Cylon, a rich and ambitious noble, attempted to overthrow the government and make himself supreme. He seized the citadel of the Acropolis, where he was closely besieged by the Archons. Upon the rock stood a temple of Athena. Finally, hard pressed, the companions of Cylon—he himself had escaped through the lines of his enemies—sought refuge within the shrine. The Archon Megacles, fearing lest the death of the rebels by starvation within the sacred enclosure should pollute the sanctuary, offered to spare their lives on condition of surrender. Fearing to trust themselves among their enemies without some protection, they fastened a string to the statue of Athena, and holding fast to this, descended from the citadel, into the streets of Athens. As they came in front of the altars of the Eumenides, the line broke; and Megacles, professing to believe that this mischance indicated that the goddess refused to shield them longer, caused them to be set upon and massacred.

Calamities that now befell the state caused the people to believe that the crime of the nobles had stirred the anger of the gods. Thus the commons were inflamed still more against the government of the aristocracy. They demanded, and finally secured, the banishment of the Alcmaeonidae, the family to which Megacles belonged. Even the bones of the

¹ Before the discovery of Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* this conspiracy was by most historians placed after the Draconian legislation.

88 THE LAWS AND CONSTITUTION OF DRACO.

dead of the family were dug up, and cast beyond the frontiers of the state.

The people further insisted upon a publication of the laws, which should secure them against the arbitrary and unjust decisions of the oligarchical magistrates, in whose hands, as we have seen, was the entire administration of justice.

XX **The Laws and Constitution of Draco (621 B.C.).** — To meet these demands of the people, the nobles appointed one of their own number, Draco to remodel the constitution and draw up a code of laws.

The most important constitutional change made by Draco related to the election of magistrates. These had hitherto been chosen by the Council of the Areopagus. This important function was now committed to the Ecclesia, or popular assembly, in which body all persons had a place who were able to provide themselves with a full military equipment. Moreover, the magistrates were henceforth to be chosen not exclusively from among the nobles, but from among all persons possessing a certain property qualification, the amount of property varying with the importance and character of the office. Thus property instead of birth was made the basis of political rights.

Besides making these reforms in the constitution, Draco drew up a code of laws. Tradition says that the legislator assigned to the least offence the penalty of death. This alleged severity of the Draconian laws is what caused a later Athenian orator to say that they were written, "not in ink, but in blood." The laws doubtless were severe, though not as severe as the tradition affirms. But there was one real defect in Draco's work. He gave no relief to the poor who were the victims of the harsh laws of debt.

Draco
XX **The Reforms of Solon (594 B.C.).** — Shortly after the Draconian reforms, a war broke out between Athens and Megara, respecting the island of Salamis, to which both cities laid claim. The struggle finally ended in favor of Athens, but the burdens the war had entailed upon the Athenians rendered still more un-

endurable the condition of the poorer classes, and made still more urgent some measures of relief.

Once more, as in the time of Draco, the Athenians placed their laws and constitution in the hands of a single man, to be remodelled as he might deem best. Solon, a man held in high esteem by all classes on account of distinguished services rendered to the state, particularly in the recent war with Megara, was selected to discharge this responsible duty.

Solon turned his attention first to relieving the misery of the debtor class. He cancelled all debts of every kind, both public and private. Moreover, that there might never again be seen in Attica the spectacle of men dragged off in chains to be sold as slaves in payment of their debts, Solon prohibited the practice in the future of securing debts on the body of the debtor. No Athenian was ever after this sold for debt.¹

Such was the most important of the economic reforms of Solon. His constitutional reforms were equally wise and beneficent. The Ecclesia, or popular assembly, was at this time composed of all those persons who were able to provide themselves with arms and armor; that is to say, of all the members of the three highest of the four property classes into which the people were divided. The fourth and poorest class, the Thetes, were excluded. Solon opened the Ecclesia to them, giving them the right to vote, but not to hold office. Solon also made other changes in the constitution, whereby the magistrates became responsible to the people, who henceforth not only elected them, but judged them in case they did wrong.

The council of four hundred and one, called into existence by the Draconian legislation, was reorganized by Solon. It was henceforth to consist of four hundred members, each tribe contributing one hundred.

¹ Solon also reformed the monetary system. There was no connection between this measure and the cancellation of debts, as was generally held before the recent discovery of Aristotle's work on the Athenian Constitution.

Pop. assembly could reject or enact any bill before it became law

The Areopagus remained, under the Solonian constitution, the guardian of the laws and the protector of the constitution, punishing without appeal lawbreakers and conspirators against the state. Before all else was it to maintain a strict censorship of public and private morals.

Besides the above relief measures and constitutional reforms of Solon, the legislator enacted various laws, all in the interest of equity, harmony and morality.

The Tyrant Pisistratus (560-527 B.C.). Solon had the unspeakable misfortune of living to see his institutions used to set up a tyranny, by an ambitious kinsman, his nephew Pisistratus. This man courted popular favor, and called himself the "friend of the people." One day, having inflicted many wounds upon himself, he drove his chariot hastily into the public square, and pretended that he had been thus set upon by the nobles, because of his devotion to the people's cause. The people, moved with sympathy and indignation, voted him a guard of fifty men. Under cover of raising his company, Pisistratus gathered a much larger force, seized the Acropolis, and made himself master of Athens. Though twice expelled from the city, he as often returned, and finally succeeded in getting a permanent hold of the government.

The rule of the usurper was mild, and under him Athens enjoyed a period of great prosperity. He adorned the city with temples and other splendid buildings, and constructed great aqueducts. Just beyond the city walls, he laid out the Lyceum, a sort of public park, made inviting with groves, porches, and promenades, which became in after years the favorite resort of the philosophers and poets of Athens. He was a liberal patron of literature; and his library—the first gathered at Athens—was generously thrown open to the public. He also caused the Homeric poems to be collected and edited.

Pisistratus died 527 B.C., thirty-three years after his first seizure of the citadel. Solon himself said of him that he had no vice save ambition.

Expulsion of the Tyrants from Athens (510 B.C.).—The two sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his power,

At first they emulated the example of their father, and Athens flourished under their parental rule. But at length an unfortunate event gave an entirely different tone to the government. Hipparchus, having insulted a young noble, was assassinated. Hippias escaped harm, but the event caused him to become suspicious and severe. His rule now became a tyranny indeed, and was brought to an end in the following way.

After his last return to Athens, Pisistratus had sent the "accursed" Alcmaeonidae into a second exile. During this period of banishment an opportunity arose for them to efface the stain of sacrilege which was still supposed to cling to them on account of the old crime of Megacles (see page 51). The temple at Delphi having been destroyed by fire, they contracted with the Amphictyons to rebuild it. They not only completed the work in the most honorable manner throughout, but even went so far beyond the terms of their contract as to use beautiful Parian marble for the front of the temple, when only common stone was required by the specifications.

By this act — a pious and generous one, had it only been wholly disinterested — the exiled family won to such a degree the favor of the priests of the sacred college, that they were able to influence the utterances of the oracle. The invariable answer now of the Pythia to Spartan inquirers at the shrine was, "Athens must be set free."

Moved at last by the repeated injunctions of the oracle, the Spartans resolved to drive Hippias from Athens. Their first attempt was unsuccessful; but in a second, made in connection with the Alcmaeonidae headed by Cleisthenes, they were so fortunate as to capture the two children of Hippias, who, to secure their release, agreed to leave the city (510 B.C.). He retired to Asia Minor, and spent the rest of his life, as we shall learn hereafter, seeking aid in different quarters to re-establish his tyranny in Athens. The Athenians passed a decree of perpetual exile against him and all his family.

The Reforms of Cleisthenes (509 B.C.). — Straightway upon the expulsion of the Tyrant Hippias, there arose a great strife between

the people, who of course wished to organize the government in accord with the constitution of Solon, and the nobles, who desired to re-establish the old aristocratical rule. Cleisthenes, aristocrat though he was, espoused the cause of the popular party. Through his influence several important changes in the constitution, which rendered it still more democratical than under Solon, were now effected.

In place of the four so-called Ionian *tribes*, into which all the citizens of Athens up to this time had been divided, Cleisthenes formed ten new tribes, which included *all the free inhabitants of Attica*.¹ Thus no matter in what province or hamlet of Attica a man's home might be, if he were not a slave, he was a citizen of Athens, and had the right to vote in the popular assembly, and to enjoy all the other privileges of Athenian citizenship.

This, notwithstanding the retention of the old property classes, made such a radical change in the constitution in the interest of the masses, that Cleisthenes rather than Solon is regarded by many as the real founder of the Athenian democracy.

The ten tribes, which were really geographical divisions of Attica, were each made up of a number of widely separated townships, or *demes*, of which there were at first probably one hundred. Each township contained a hamlet or village, possessed its own magistrates, and managed its local affairs.

The Senate was remodelled in accordance with the new divisions of the state. It had consisted of four hundred members, one hundred from each of the ancient tribes. It was now made up of five hundred members, fifty from each of the new tribes. Its duties and powers, as well as those of the popular assembly, were greatly increased, while those of the Archons and of the aristocratical court of the Areopagus were correspondingly diminished. Many cases hitherto tried by these bodies were hereafter decided by citizen juries. Thus all the citizens of the state were accustomed

¹ Aside from enlarging them by the admission of the new-made citizens, Cleisthenes did not disturb the four property classes into which the citizens of Athens were divided. The duties and privileges of these classes (eligibility to the archonship, etc.) remained as before. See p. 52.

not only to the management of political affairs, but were trained in the exercise of judicial functions.

The command of the military forces was intrusted to ten generals (*strategi*), one for each of the new tribes. The supreme command was held by each of the ten generals in turn, for one day only at a time.

Ostracism.—But of all the innovations or institutions of Cleisthenes, that known as *ostracism* was the most characteristic, if not the most important. By means of this process any person who had excited the suspicions or displeasure of the people could, without trial, be banished from Athens for a period of ten years. Six thousand votes cast against any person in a meeting of the popular assembly was a decree of banishment. The name of the person whose banishment was sought was written on a piece of pottery or a shell (in Greek *ostrakon*), hence the term *ostracism*.

The original design of this institution was to prevent the recurrence of such a usurpation as that of the Pisistratidæ. The privilege and power it gave the people were often abused, and many of the ablest and best statesmen of Athens were sent into exile through the influence of some demagogue who for the moment had caught the popular ear.

No stigma or disgrace attached to the person ostracized. The vote came to be employed, as a rule, simply to settle disputes between rival leaders of political parties, and, when thus used, was designed to put an end to dangerous contentions of powerful factions in the state. Thus the vote merely expressed political preference, the ostracized person being simply the defeated candidate for popular favor.

The institution was short-lived. It was resorted to for the last time during the Peloponnesian War (417 B.C.). The people then, in a freak, ostracized a man whom all admitted to be the meanest man in Athens. This was regarded as such a degradation of the institution, as well as such an honor to the mean man, that never thereafter did the Athenians degrade a good man, or honor a bad one, by a resort to the measure.

Sparta opposes the Athenian Democracy.—The aristocratic

party at Athens was naturally bitterly opposed to all these democratic innovations. The Spartans, also, viewed with disquiet and jealousy this rapid growth of the Athenian democracy, and their King Cleomenes, instigated by Isagoras, the leader of the Athenian nobles, made two unsuccessful invasions of Attica, for the purpose of overthrowing the Athenian government. In the second of these, the Spartans had as allies north of the Isthmus the cities of Thebes and Chalcis, the latter a town upon the island of Euboea.

After the withdrawal from Attica of the Peloponnesian forces, the Athenians chastised the Thebans for giving aid to the Spartans; and then crossing the channel to Euboea, captured Chalcis, took away from the Chalcidians their lands, and distributed them by lot among four thousand Attic farmers.

These colonists were not ordinary emigrants; they did not cease to be citizens of Athens. In a word, the part of the island thus settled became simply an addition to Attic territory. This was the first of that class of colonies which we have already described under the name *kleruchias* (see p. 38, note). It proved of vast service to Athens.

Cleomenes now thought to secure his object through Hippias. Inviting the deposed Tyrant over from Asia, he called at Sparta a convention of all her Peloponnesian allies, and tried to persuade them to aid the Spartans in restoring Hippias to power in Athens. But the eloquent portrayal by the Corinthian deputy Sosicles, of the wrongs Corinth had endured at the hands of the Tyrant Periander, and his scathing rebuke of Sparta's inconsistency in overthrowing tyrannies elsewhere and then trying to set one up in Athens, caused all the allies to refuse to lend any aid to the proposed undertaking, so that Cleomenes was forced to abandon it.

Hippias now withdrew once more to Asia Minor, and we soon find him at the court of King Darius, seeking aid of the Persians. His solicitations, in connection with an affront which the Athenians just now offered the king himself by aiding his revolted subjects in Ionia, led directly up to the memorable struggle known as the Græco-Persian War.

CHAPTER V.

THE GRÆCO-PERSIAN WARS.

(500-479 B.C.)

In 500 B.C. the Ionian cities in Asia Minor (see pp. 5, 6, 19) subject to the Persian authority revolted. Miletus was the foremost city concerned in the rebellion. Athens, and Eretria on the island of Euboea, lent aid to their sister states. Sardis was sacked and burned by the insurgents.

With the revolt crushed and punished with great severity, and with his power re-established to the Hellespont, Darius determined to chastise the European Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, for their insolence in giving aid to his rebellious subjects. Herodotus tells us that he appointed a person whose sole duty it was daily to stir up the purpose of the king with the words, "Master, remember the Athenians."

A large land and naval armament was fitted out and placed under the command of Mardonius, son-in-law of Darius. The land forces suffered severe losses at the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, and the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm off Mount Athos, three hundred ships being lost (498 B.C.).

Undismayed by the disaster that had befallen the expedition of Mardonius, Darius issued orders for the raising and equipping of another and stronger armament. Meanwhile he sent heralds to the various Grecian states to demand earth and water, which elements among the Persians were symbols of submission. The weaker states gave the tokens required; but the Athenians and Spartans threw the envoys of the king into pits and wells, and bade

THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

them help themselves to earth and water. By the beginning of the year 490 B.C., another Persian army of 120,000 men had been mustered for the second attempt upon Greece. This armament was intrusted to the command of the experienced generals Datis and Artaphernes; but was under the guidance of the traitor Hippias. A fleet of six hundred ships bore the army from the coasts of Asia Minor over the *Ægean* towards the Grecian shores.

After receiving the submission of the most important of the Cyclades, and capturing and sacking the city of Eretria upon the island of Eubœa, the Persians landed at Marathon, barely two days' journey from Athens. Here is a sheltered bay, which is edged by a crescent-shaped plain, backed by the rugged ranges of Parnes and Pentelicus. Upon this level ground the Persian generals drew up their army, flushed and confident with their recent successes.

The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.).—The Athenians were nerved by the very magnitude of the danger to almost superhuman energy. Slaves were transformed into soldiers by the promise of liberty. A fleet runner, Phidippides by name, was despatched to Sparta for aid. In just thirty-six hours he was in Sparta, which is one hundred and fifty miles from Athens. But it so happened that it lacked a few days of the full moon, during which interval the Spartans, owing to an old superstition, were averse to setting out upon a military expedition. They promised aid, but moved only in time to reach Athens when all was over. The Platæans, firm and grateful friends of the Athenians, on account of some former service, no sooner received the latter's appeal for help than they responded to a man.

The Athenians and their faithful allies, numbering about ten thousand in all, under the command of Miltiades, were drawn up in battle array just where the hills of Pentelicus sink down into the plain of Marathon. The vast host of the Persians filled the level ground in their front. The fate of Greece and the future of Europe were in the keeping of Miltiades and his trusty warriors. Without waiting for the attack of the Persians, the Greeks charged

and swept like a tempest from the mountain over the plain, pushed the Persians back towards the shore, and with great slaughter drove them to their ships.

Miltiades at once despatched a courier to Athens with intelligence of his victory. The messenger reached the city in a few hours, but in so breathless a state that, as the people thronged eagerly around him to hear the news he bore, he could merely gasp, "Victory is ours," and fell dead.

But the danger was not yet past. The Persian fleet, instead of returning to the coast of Asia, bore down upon Athens. Informed by watchers on the hills of the movements of the enemy, Miltiades immediately set out with his little army for the capital, which he reached just at evening, the battle at Marathon having been won in the forenoon of that same day. The next morning, when the Persian generals would have made an attack upon the city, they found themselves confronted by the same men who but yesterday had beaten them back from the plains of Marathon. Shrinking from another encounter with these citizen-soldiers of Athens, the Persians spread their sails, and bore away towards the Ionian shore.

Thus the cloud that had lowered so threateningly over Hellas was for a time dissipated. The most imposing honors were accorded to the heroes who had achieved the glorious victory, and their names and deeds were transmitted to posterity, in song and marble. The bodies of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who had fallen, were buried on the field, and an enormous mound of earth was raised over them. Ten marble columns surmounting the tumulus bore the names of the heroes through more than six centuries.

The gods were believed to have interposed in behalf of Greece; and suitable recognition of their favor was made in gifts and memorials. A considerable part of the brazen arms and shields gathered from the battle-field was melted into a colossal statue of Athena, which was placed upon the Acropolis, as the guardian of Athens. Tradition also says that, in after years, the grateful

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

Athenians ordered their great sculptor Phidias to cut the block of marble which the confident Persians had brought with them to set up as a monument of their anticipated victory, into a statue of Nemesis, the goddess who punishes the proud and insolent.

Results of the Battle of Marathon. — The battle of Marathon is reckoned as one of the "decisive battles of the world." It marks an epoch, not only in the life of Greece, but in that of Europe. Hellenic civilization was spared to mature its fruit, not for itself alone, but for the world. The battle decided that no longer the despotism of the East, with its repression of all individual action, but the freedom of the West, with all its incentives to personal effort, should control the affairs and mould the ideas and institutions of the future. It broke the spell of the Persian name, and destroyed forever the prestige of the Persian arms. It gave the Hellenic peoples that position of authority and pre-eminence that had been so long enjoyed by the successive races of the East. It especially revealed the Athenians to themselves. The consciousness of resources and power became the inspiration of their future acts. They performed great deeds thereafter because they believed themselves able to perform them.

Miltiades falls into Disgrace. — The distinguished services Miltiades had rendered his country, made him the hero of the hour at Athens. Taking advantage of the public feeling in his favor, he persuaded the Athenians to put in his hands a fleet for an enterprise respecting the nature of which no one save himself was to know anything whatever. Of course it was generally supposed that he meditated an attack upon the Persians or their allies, and with full faith in the judgment as well as in the integrity of their favorite, the Athenians gave him the command he asked.

But Miltiades abused the confidence imposed in him. He led the expedition against the island of Paros, simply to avenge some private wrong. The undertaking was unsuccessful, and Miltiades, severely wounded, returned to Athens, where he was brought to trial for his conduct. His never-to-be-forgotten services at Marathon pleaded eloquently for him, and he escaped being sentenced

to death, but was subjected to a heavy fine. This he was unable to pay, and in a short time he died of his wound. The unfortunate affair left an ineffaceable blot upon a fame otherwise the most resplendent in Grecian story.

Athens prepares for Persian Vengeance.—Many among the Athenians were inclined to believe that the battle of Marathon



THEMISTOCLES

had freed Athens forever from the danger of a Persian invasion. But there was at least one among them who was clear-sighted enough to see that that battle was only the beginning of a great struggle. This was Themistocles, a sagacious, versatile, and

64 *XERXES' PREPARATIONS TO INVADE GREECE.*

ambitious statesman, who labored to persuade the Athenians to strengthen their navy, in order to be ready to meet the danger he foresaw.

Themistocles was opposed in this policy by Aristides, called the Just, a man of the most scrupulous integrity, who feared that Athens would make a serious mistake if she converted her land force into a naval armament. The contention grew so sharp between them that the ostracism was called into use to decide the matter. Six thousand votes were cast against Aristides, and he was sent into exile.

It is related that while the vote that ostracized him was being taken in the popular assembly, an illiterate peasant, who was a stranger to Aristides, asked him to write the name of Aristides upon his tablet. As he placed the name desired upon the shell, the statesman asked the man what wrong Aristides had ever done him. "None," responded the voter; "I do not even know him; but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

After the banishment of Aristides, Themistocles was free to carry out his naval policy without any serious opposition, and soon Athens had the largest fleet of any Greek city, with a splendid harbor at Piræus.

Xerxes' Preparations to invade Greece. — No sooner had the news of the disaster at Marathon been carried to Darius than he began to make gigantic preparations to avenge this second defeat and insult. It was in the midst of these plans for revenge that death cut short his reign, and his son Xerxes came to the throne.

Urged on by his nobles, as well as by exiled Greeks at his court, who sought to gratify ambition or enjoy revenge in the humiliation and ruin of their native land, Xerxes, though at first disinclined to enter into a contest with the Greeks, at length ordered the preparations begun by his father to be pushed forward with the utmost energy. For eight years all Asia resounded with the din of preparation. Levies were made upon all the provinces that acknowledged the authority of the Great King, from India to the

Hellespont. Vast contingents of vessels were furnished by the coast countries of the Mediterranean. Immense stores of provisions, the harvests of many years, were gathered into great store-houses along the intended line of march.

While all these preparations were going on in Asia itself, Phœnician and Egyptian architects were employed in spanning the Hellespont with a double bridge of boats, which was to unite the two continents as with a royal highway. At the same time, the isthmus at Mount Athos, in rounding which promontory the admirals of Mardonius had lost their fleet, was cut by a canal, traces of which may be seen at this day. Three years were consumed in these gigantic works. With them completed, or far advanced, Xerxes set out from his capital to join the countless hosts that from all quarters of the compass were gathering at Sardis, in Asia Minor.

Disunion of the Greeks: Congress at Corinth (481 B.C.).—Startling rumors of the gigantic preparations that the Persian king was making to crush them were constantly borne across the *Ægean* to the ears of the Greeks in Europe. Finally came intelligence that Xerxes was about to begin his march. Something must now be done to meet the impending danger. Mainly through the exertions of Themistocles, a council of the Greek cities was convened at Corinth in the fall of 481 B.C.

But on account of feuds, jealousies, and party spirit, only a small number of the states of Hellas could be brought to act in concert. Argos would not join the proposed confederation through hatred of Sparta; Thebes, through jealousy of Athens. The Cretans, to whom an embassy had been sent soliciting aid, refused all assistance. The Corcyreans promised to help, but they were not sincere. Gelon, the Tyrant of Syracuse, offered to send over a large armament, provided that he were given the chief command of the allied forces. His aid on such terms was refused.

Thus, through different causes, many of the Greek cities held aloof from the confederation, so that only about fifteen or sixteen states were brought to unite their resources against the Barbarians;

DISUNION OF THE GREEKS.

and even the strength of many of those cities that did enter into the alliance was divided by party spirit. The friends of aristocratical government were almost invariably friends of Persia, because a Persian victory in Greece proper meant what it had already meant in Ionia, — a suppression of the democracies as incompatible with the Persian form of government. Thus for the sake of a party victory, the aristocrats were ready to betray their country into the hands of the Barbarians. To make their conduct appear less outrageous to the common Hellenic mind, some of these so-called "Medizing" Greeks¹ even tried to make out that the Persians were the descendants of the Greek hero Perseus, and hence pure Hellenes, submission to whom could not be regarded as disgraceful.

Furthermore, the Delphian oracle, aristocratical in its sympathies, and therefore influenced by the same considerations that had weight with the oligarchical party, was lukewarm and wavering, if not actually disloyal, and by its timid responses disheartened the patriot party.

But under the inspiration of Themistocles the cities in convention at Corinth determined upon desperate resistance to the Barbarians. They resolved that all feuds existing between members of the league should be extinguished, and solemnly bound themselves, after the struggle should be over, to make war together upon any and every city that should give aid to the Persians, and to dedicate one-tenth of the spoils to the shrine of the Delphian Apollo.

Passing at last to the consideration of the question where they should make their first stand against the invaders, it was at first decided to concentrate a strong force in the Vale of Tempe, and at that point to dispute the advance of the enemy; but this being found impracticable, it was resolved that the first attempt to resist the Persian march should be made at the pass of Thermopylae.

The Spartans were given the chief command of both the land

¹ The reference, of course, is to the Medes, by which term the Greeks usually designated the Persians.

and the naval forces. The Athenians might fairly have insisted upon their right to the command of the allied fleet, but under the inspiration of Themistocles, they patriotically waived their claim for the sake of harmony.

The Hellespontine Bridges Broken. — As the vast army of Xerxes was about to move from Sardis, intelligence came that the bridges across the Hellespont had been wrecked by a violent tempest. It is said that Xerxes, in great wrath, ordered the architects to be put to death, and the sea to be bound with fetters and scourged. The scourgers faithfully performed their duty, at the same time gratuitously cursing the traitorous and rebellious Hellespont with what Herodotus calls "non-Hellenic and blasphemous terms."

Other architects spanned the channel with two stronger and firmer bridges. Each roadway rested upon a row of from three to four hundred vessels, all securely anchored like modern pontoons. The bridges were each about one mile in length, and furnished with high parapets, that the horses and cattle might not be rendered uneasy at sight of the water.

Passage of the Hellespont. — With the first indications of the opening spring of 480 B.C., just ten years after the defeat at Marathon, the vast Persian army was astir and concentrating from all points upon the Hellespont. The passage of this strait, as pictured to us in the inimitable narration of Herodotus, is one of the most dramatic of all the spectacles afforded by history.

Before the passage commenced, the bridges were strewn with the sacred myrtle and perfumed with incense from golden censers, while the sea was placated with libations poured by the king himself. As the east reddened with the approach of the sun, prayers were offered, and the moment the rays of Helios touched the bridges the passage began. To avoid accidents and delays, the trains of baggage wagons and the beasts of burden crossed by one causeway, leaving the other free for the march of the army. The first of the host to cross were the sacred guard of the Great King, the Ten Thousand Immortals, all crowned with garlands as in festival

procession. Preceding the king, moved slowly the gorgeous Chariot of the Sun, drawn by eight milk-white steeds. Herodotus affirms that for seven days and seven nights the bridges groaned beneath the living tide that Asia was pouring into Europe.

The Review and Census. — Upon an extended plain called Doriscus, on the European shore, Xerxes drew up his vast army for review and census. It was the largest armament that the world had yet gathered for any enterprise. To Herodotus it seemed that all Asia and Africa were there seeking the ruin of Greece. Forty-six different nations marched beneath the ensign of the Persian king. The costumes and equipments of the different contingents were as varied as the countries whence they came. There was every variety of dress, from the light cotton tunic of the native of India to the leopard-skin in which the Ethiopian wrapped his body. Some were clad in bronze armor; others offered their naked bodies to the blows of the enemy. The weapons borne varied from the well-tempered blade of Damascus to the fire-hardened stave of the Libyan. Some of the nomadic horsemen were armed simply with the lasso.

The countless host could be numbered in no usual way. Ten thousand men were crowded in as close a body as possible and a low wall raised about them. Then these passed out of the enclosure, which was again packed with soldiers, and when no more could find room, it was calculated that ten thousand were within. One hundred and seventy times was the enclosure thus filled and emptied. According to this rude enumeration, the land force of Xerxes amounted to 1,700,000 men. The naval force brought the number up to the amazing total of 2,317,000. Herodotus adds to this about an equal number of slaves and attendants, making the entire host number between five and six million persons. It is believed that these figures are greatly exaggerated, and that the actual number of the Persian army could not have exceeded 900,000 men.

Provisioning the Persian Army. — From the plain of Doriscus the Persian army moved on towards the Pass of Thermopylae.

The cities along the route had been ordered to prepare repasts for the army as it advanced, and to furnish special delicacies for the royal table. The people, through policy or fear, made extraordinary efforts to entertain in a becoming manner their self-imposed guest, and to feed his soldiers. Herodotus affirms, and there seems no reason to doubt his statement, that some of the towns were driven to distraction, and others to the very verge of ruin. The people, however, notwithstanding their perplexity and distress, found occasion to thank the gods because Xerxes, according to the Persian custom, required but one meal a day. "Had the monarch required breakfast as well as dinner," says Herodotus, "the citizens must have been reduced to the alternative either of exile or of utter destitution."

Battle of Thermopylæ (480 B.C.).—Leading from Thessaly into Central Greece is a narrow pass, pressed on one side by the sea and on the other by rugged mountain ridges. At the foot of the cliffs break forth several hot springs, whence the name of the pass, Thermopylæ, or "Hot Gates."

At this point, in accordance with the decision of the Corinthian Congress, was offered the first resistance to the progress of the Persian army. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with three hundred Spartan soldiers and about six thousand allies from different states of Greece, held the pass. As the Greeks were about to celebrate the Olympic games, which their religious scruples would not allow them to postpone, they left this handful of men unsupported to hold in check the army of Xerxes until the festival days were past.¹

By a special interposition of the gods, as it seemed to the pious Greeks, a furious tempest drove the Persian fleet upon the shore and dashed to pieces over four hundred ships. This prevented Xerxes from landing a force farther down the coast, in the rear

¹ Grote likens the action of the Greeks at this time to that of the Jews, who, when Jerusalem was being besieged by the Romans under Titus, rather than violate their religious scruples, permitted the Roman works to be pushed forward against their city during the Sabbath, without molestation.

of Leonidas; for that movement was now hindered by a Grecian fleet of sixty thousand men, which, encouraged by the Persian losses, had advanced to Artemisium, at the extreme northern point of the island of Eubosa.

The Spartans could now be driven from their advantageous position, only by an attack in front. Before assailing them, Xerxes summoned them to give up their arms. The answer of Leonidas was, "Come and take them."

For two days the Persians tried to storm the pass. The Asiatics were driven to the attack by their officers armed with whips. But every attempt to force the way was repulsed; even the Ten Thousand Immortals were hurled back from the Spartan front like waves from a cliff.

But an act of treachery on the part of a native Greek rendered unavailing all the bravery of the keepers of the pass. A by-way leading over the mountains to the rear of the Spartans was revealed to Xerxes. The startling intelligence was brought to Leonidas that the Persians were descending the mountain path in his rear. He saw instantly that all was lost. The allies were permitted to seek safety in flight while opportunity remained. But to him and his Spartan companions there could be no thought of retreat. Death in the pass, the defence of which had been intrusted to them, was all that Spartan honor and Spartan law now left them. The next day, surrounded by the Persian host, they fought with desperate valor; but, being overwhelmed finally by mere numbers, they were slain to the last man. With them also perished seven hundred Thespians who had chosen death with their companions. Over the bodies of the Spartan soldiers a monument was afterwards erected with this inscription: "Strangers, tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their orders."

The Battle of Artemisium. — While Leonidas and his companions were so gallantly striving to hold in check the land forces of Xerxes at the Pass of Thermopylæ, the Greek fleet at Artemisium, consisting of between two and three hundred ships, was

endeavoring with equal bravery to prevent the immense fleet of the Persians from entering the strait which runs between the island of Eubœa and the mainland. During the three days that the struggle was going on at the pass, the Grecian ships were engaging the Persian naval forces, with indecisive results; but when on the evening of the third day the Greeks received intelligence of the loss of the pass, they withdrew from before the enemy, as there was now nothing to be gained by holding the water passage any longer. The whole armament came to anchor in the Gulf of Salamis, near Athens, and awaited events.

The Burning of Athens. — Athens now lay open to the invaders. The inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, thinking of their own safety simply, commenced throwing up defences across the narrow isthmus of Corinth, working day and night under the impulse of an almost insane fear. Athens was thus left outside to care for herself.

Counsels were divided. The Delphian oracle had obscurely declared, "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athena that the *wooden walls* alone shall remain unconquered, to defend you and your children." The oracle was believed to be, as was declared, "firm as adamant." But there were various opinions as to what was meant by the "wooden walls." Some thought the Pythian priestess directed the Athenians to seek refuge in the forests on the mountains; others believed the oracle meant the wooden palisade which in ancient times surrounded the Acropolis; but Themistocles (who it is thought may have himself prompted the oracle) contended that the ships were plainly indicated.

The last interpretation was acted upon. All the soldiers of Attica were crowded upon the vessels of the fleet at Salamis. The aged men, with the women and children, were carried out of the country to different places of safety. All the towns of Attica, with the capital, were thus abandoned to the conquerors.

A few days afterwards the Persians entered upon the deserted plain, which they rendered more desolate by ravaging the fields

and burning the empty towns. Athens shared the common fate, and her splendid temples sank in flames. Sardis was avenged. The joy in distant Susa was unbounded.

→ **The Naval Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.).** — Just off the coast of Attica, separated from the mainland by a narrow passage of water, lies the island of Salamis. Here lay the Greek fleet. The persuasive eloquence alone of Themistocles brought the Greeks to the determination to face here the Persian squadrons. To hasten on the Persian attack before dissensions should divide the Greek forces, Themistocles resorted to the following stratagem. He sent a messenger to Xerxes representing that he himself was ready to espouse the Persian cause, and advised an immediate attack upon the Athenian fleet, which he represented as being in no condition to make any formidable resistance. Xerxes was deceived. He ordered an immediate attack. From a lofty throne upon the shore he himself overlooked the scene and watched the result. The Persian fleet was broken to pieces and two hundred of the ships destroyed.¹

The blow was decisive. Xerxes lost faith in his undertaking and in his allies. He feared that treachery might burn or break the Hellespontine bridges, and thus endanger his own safety. He instantly despatched a hundred ships to protect them; and then, leaving Mardonius with three hundred thousand men to retrieve the disaster of Salamis, and effect, as he promised to do, the conquest of the rest of Greece, the monarch set out on his ignominious retreat to Asia.²

→ **The Battles of Platæa and Mycæ (479 B.C.).** — The next year the Persian fleet and army thus left behind in Europe were entirely destroyed, both on the same day — the army at Platæa, near

¹ The entire Persian fleet numbered about seven hundred and fifty vessels; the Grecian, about three hundred and eighty-five ships, mostly triremes.

² On the very day of the battle of Salamis, Gelon of Syracuse gained a great victory over the Carthaginians at the battle of Himera, in the north of Sicily. So it was a memorable day for Hellas in the West as well as in the East.

Thebes, by the combined Greek forces under the Spartan Pausanias; and the fleet, including the Asiatic land forces, at Mycale, on the Ionian coast.

The battles of Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale were the successive blows that shattered into fragments the most splendid armaments ever commanded by Asiatic despot.

Memorials and Trophies of the War. — The glorious issue of the war caused a general burst of joy and exultation throughout all Greece. Poets and artists and orators all vied with one another in commemorating the deeds of the heroes whose valor had warded off the impending danger.

Nor did the pious Grecians think that the marvellous deliverance had been effected without the intervention of the gods in their behalf. To the temple at Delphi was gratefully consecrated a tenth of the immense spoils in gold and silver from the field of Plataea; and within the sanctuary of Athena, upon the Acropolis at Athens, were placed the broken cables of the Hellespontine bridges, at once a proud trophy of victory, and a signal illustration of the divine punishment that had befallen the audacious and impious attempt to lay a yoke upon the sacred waters of the Hellespont.

CHAPTER VI.

PERIOD OF ATHENIAN SUPREMACY.

(477-432 B.C.)

Loyalty of Athens to the Grecian Cause. — Athens had braved everything for the common cause of Hellas. The patriotism of her citizens had never wavered. When Mardonius sought with bribes to detach them from the Grecian league, they replied to his messenger that "no conceivable temptation, either of money or territory, should induce them to desert the ties of brotherhood, common language, or religion."

Their lofty patriotism and unswerving loyalty to the general interests of Greece — in striking contrast to the narrow selfishness of the Spartans — were now rewarded. Athens was accorded the place of honor and pre-eminence among the Grecian states. The loss and suffering attailed by the destruction of her dwellings and temples were repaired and forgotten during the period of prosperity upon which she now entered. Her maritime power, and her reputation as a center of wealth and refinement and the home of art and literature, were secured by the address and genius of a succession of statesmen, artists, and writers such as perhaps no other city in ancient or modern times ever produced. The important public events that fill the period intervening between the battle of Plataea and the breaking out of the Peloponnesian War (479-432 B.C.) will be found, as we now proceed to narrate them in the very briefest way, to connect themselves especially with four names of the widest renown — Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles.

Rebuilding the Walls of Athens. — After the Persians had been expelled from Greece, the first care of the Athenians was the

rebuilding of their homes. Their next task was the restoration of the city walls. The exalted hopes for the future which had been raised by the almost incredible achievements and endurance of the past few months, led the Athenians to draw a vast circuit of seven miles about the Acropolis as the line of the new ramparts.

The rival states of the Peloponnesus watched the proceedings of the Athenians with the most jealous interest. While they could not but admire Athens, they feared her. Sparta sent an embassy to dissuade the citizens from rebuilding the walls, hypocritically assigning as the cause of her interest in the matter her solicitude lest, in case of another Persian invasion, the city, if captured, might become a shelter and defence to the enemy.

Themistocles as an Envoy. — The crafty Themistocles, the Ulysses of Athens, and the most popular leader of his time, had a talent for just such diplomacy as the case seemed to demand; for the Athenians were not strong enough to insist by force of arms upon their right to manage their own affairs. Themistocles caused the Spartan envoys to be sent home with the reply that Athens would send commissioners to Sparta to consider the matter with them there. Then, as one of the envoys, he himself set out for Sparta, having previously arranged that the other members of the embassy should not leave Athens until the walls were sufficiently advanced to defy assault. With astonishing unanimity and energy, the entire population of Athens, rich and poor, men, women, and children, set to work upon the wall. Material was torn from temples and tombs and built into the defences.

While this was going on at Athens, Themistocles was at Sparta, with amazing address wondering with the Lacedæmonians what so delayed his colleagues. From day to day the business upon which he had come was postponed, to give time for the arrival of the tardy envoys. At length rumors came to Sparta of the state of affairs at Athens. Themistocles assured the people that these were mere idle reports. Fresh rumors came. Then he advised them to send messengers of their own to Athens to get the truth of the matter. They did so. But Themistocles had already de-

spatched a messenger to the Athenians informing them that the Spartan envoys were on the way, and ordering their detention in Athens.

By all these stratagems sufficient time was gained to raise the walls to such a height that the Athenians could defy interference. Then Themistocles boldly administered some "wholesome advice" to the Spartans. He told them, when they and their allies sent ambassadors again to Athens, to deal with the Athenians as with reasonable men, who could discern what belonged to their own interest, and what to the general interest of Greece."

These circumstances attendant upon the refortifying of the Athenian capital we have narrated at some length, because of the light they throw upon the succeeding history of Athens. They exhibit the tremendous energy with which the memory of the recent great events of the Persian War inspired the Athenians. As Grote observes, both arm and mind were strung to the very highest pitch. It was this tension, calling forth the very best in every man, that carried forward events at Athens with such almost preternatural energy during the generation immediately following that great struggle.

This contention respecting the walls of Athens also affords us a glimpse of the rising jealousy between Sparta and Athens, which at last, intensified by their different political tendencies, issued in that long and calamitous struggle between these two rival states and their allies, known as the Peloponnesian War.

Naval Policy of the Athenians. — Eminent as was the service which Themistocles had rendered his native city in the conduct of the Spartan negotiations, he now conferred a still greater benefit by the exercise of his prudence and genius in the shaping of the naval policy of the ambitious Athenians.

This far-sighted statesman saw clearly that Athens' supremacy among the Grecian states must be secured and maintained by her mastery of the sea. He had unbounded visions of the maritime power and glory that might come to her through her fleet, those "wooden walls" to which at this moment she owed her very exist-

ence; and he succeeded in inspiring his countrymen with his own enthusiasm and sanguine hopes.

In the prosecution of his views, Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to enlarge the harbor of Piræus, the most spacious of the three ports of Athens, and to surround the place with immense walls, far exceeding, both in compass and strength, those of the capital. He also led his countrymen to the resolution of adding each year twenty well-equipped triremes to their navy.

This policy, initiated by Themistocles, was, as we shall see, zealously pursued by the statesmen that after him successively assumed the lead in Athenian affairs.

Character of Themistocles. — Themistocles well deserved the honor of being called, as he was, the founder of the New Athens. But although a great and far-seeing statesman, to whose commanding ability both in war and in peace Athens owed almost everything, still those imperfections of character which we cannot have failed to notice, at last brought him into disgrace. He used unscrupulously the power and position which his abilities and services secured him. He accepted bribes and sold his influence, thereby acquiring an enormous property. Finally he was ostracized and went into exile (471 B.C.). After long wanderings, he became a resident at the court of the Persian king.

Tradition affirms that Artaxerxes, in accordance with Persian usage, provided for the courtier exile by assigning to three cities in Asia Minor the care of providing for his table: one furnished bread, a second meat, and a third wines. It is told that one day, as he sat down to his richly loaded board, he exclaimed, "How much we should have lost, my children, if we had not been ruined!" He died about 449 B.C.

Aristides the Just. — The most illustrious contemporary and rival of Themistocles was Aristides, to whom reference has already been made (see p. 64). Less great in mind than Themistocles, he was immeasurably his superior in character. Before the time of which we are treating, he had already rendered many and eminent services to his native state. He was one of the ten Athenian

generals that led the Grecian forces at Marathon. Not long after that battle, his rival, Themistocles, as we have narrated, secured against him a decree of ostracism.

With a spirit just the opposite of that evinced by the Roman Camillus, who, when banished by his countrymen, invoked the gods to send such calamities upon them that they would speedily pray for his return, the patriot Aristides went into exile praying the gods that nothing might befall his native city which should cause those that had procured his banishment to mourn his absence. Nevertheless, such an event soon did occur. Only six years had passed when the threatening danger of the invasion by Xerxes led to his recall by the Athenians, to aid Themistocles in the defence of the state. He fought at Salamis and Platæa, and, after the retreat of the Persians, became at Athens the rival of Themistocles in popular favor and esteem. It was the universal confidence inspired by his uprightness of character that enabled him to secure for his native city that supremacy in the foreign affairs of Hellas which had been hitherto accorded to Sparta alone. How this came about will appear in the following paragraphs.

The Confederacy of Delos (477 B.C.).—In order that they might be able to carry on war more effectively against the Persians,—who for a long time after the disastrous expedition of Xerxes never ceased, by intrigue and open force, to vex the Grecian communities,—the Ionian states of Asia Minor, the islands of the Ægean, and some of the states in Greece proper, mostly north of the Isthmus, shortly after the battle of Platæa, formed themselves into what is known as the Confederacy of Delos. Sparta, on account of her military reputation, had hitherto been accorded the place of pre-eminence and authority in all such alliances of the Hellenic cities. She had come, indeed, to regard herself as the natural guardian and leader of Greece. But at this time the unbearable arrogance of the Spartan general Pausanias,¹ who presumed

¹ Pausanias was not only arrogant, but treacherous. It came to light afterward that he was at that moment engaged in treasonable negotiations with

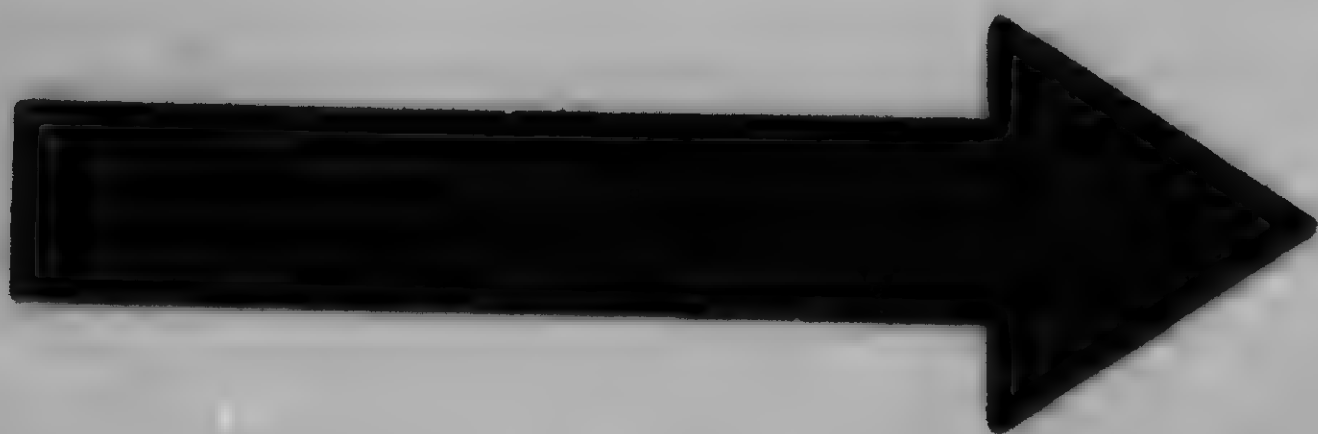
upon the great reputation he had gained at the battle of Plataea, led the states which had entered into the alliance to look to Athens to assume the position of leadership in the new confed-

The lofty character of Aristides, who was now the most prominent Athenian leader, and his great reputation for fairness and incorruptible integrity, also contributed to the same result. He was chosen the first president of the league (477 B.C.), and the sacred island of Delos was made the repository of the common funds. What proportion of the ships and money needed for carrying out the purposes of the union should be contributed by the different states, was left entirely to the decision of Aristides, such was the confidence all had in his equity; and so long as he had control of the matter, none of the members of the alliance ever had cause of complaint.

Thus did Sparta lose, and Athens gain, the place of precedence among the Ionian states. The Dorian states of the Peloponnesus, in the main, still looked to Sparta as their leader and adviser. All Greece was thus divided into two great leagues, under the rival leadership of Sparta and Athens.

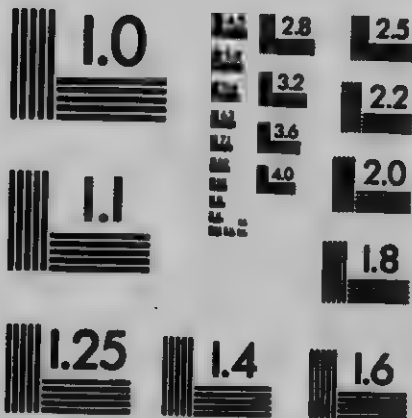
The Athenians convert the Delian League into an Empire. — The Confederacy of Delos laid the basis of the imperial power of Athens. The Athenians misused their authority as leaders of the league, and gradually, during the interval between the formation of the union and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, reduced their free and independent confederates to the condition of tributaries.

Xerxes, and was ready, for a suitable reward, to surrender all Greece into the hands of the Persians. The well-known letter in which he is made to seek as the price of his treachery the hand of the daughter of Xerxes is, it is true, by some pronounced a forgery; but then there is no doubt of his treasonable intentions. His fate befitted his crime. To avoid arrest by the ephors, he fled for refuge to the sanctuary of Athena at Sparta. The ephors, not daring to seize him there, caused the roof of the temple to be removed, and walling up the entrance, left the traitor to die of starvation.



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Athens transformed the league into an empire in the following manner. The contributions assessed by Aristides upon the different members of the confederation, consisted of ships and their crews for the larger states, and of money payments for the smaller ones. From the first, Athens attended to this assessment matter, and saw to it that each member of the league made its proper contribution.

After a while, some of the cities preferring to make a money payment in lieu of ships, Athens accepted the commutation, and then building the ships herself, added them to her own navy. Thus the confederates disarmed themselves and armed their master.

Very soon the restraints which Athens imposed upon her allies became irksome, and they began to refuse, one after another, to pay the assessment in any form. Naxos, one of the Cyclades, was the first island to secede, as it were, from the league (466 B.C.). But Athens had no idea of admitting any such doctrine of state rights, and with her powerful navy forced the Naxians to remain within the union, and to pay an increased tribute.

What happened in the case of Naxos happened in the case of almost all the other members of the confederation. By the year 449 B.C. only three of the island members of the league still retained their independence.

Even before this date (probably about 457 B.C.) the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to Athens, and diverting the tribute from its original purpose, were beginning to spend it, not in the prosecution of war against the Barbarians, but in the execution of home enterprises, as though the treasure were their own revenue.

Thus what had been simply a voluntary confederation of sovereign and independent cities, was converted into what was practically an absolute monarchy, with the Attic democracy as the imperial master.

What made this servitude of the former allies of Athens all the more galling was the fact that they themselves had been com-

pelled to forge the very chains which fettered them; for it was their money that had built and was maintaining the fleet by which they were kept in subjection and forced to do whatever might be the will of the Athenians.

The Leadership of Cimon. — One of the ablest and most distinguished of the generals who commanded the forces of the Athenians during this same period when they were enslaving their confederates, was Cimon, the son of Miltiades. He was one of those whose spirits had been fired by the exciting events attendant upon the Persian invasion. He had called attention to himself and acquired a certain reputation, at the time of the abandonment of Athens, by being the first to hang up his bridle in the sanctuary of the Acropolis, thus expressing his resolution to place all his confidence in the fleet, as Themistocles advised.

After the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, he became one of the most successful of the Grecian generals to whom was intrusted the command of the armaments designed to wrest from the hands of the enemy the islands of the *Ægean* and the Hellenic cities of the Asiatic coast.

The rich spoils of his many victories over the Persians, the most important of which was that at the mouth of the Eurymedon, in Pamphylia (465 B.C.), enabled him to fill the treasury of Athens, and also to build up an ample fortune for himself. His private means he dispensed with a lavish hand in benefactions to the poor, in the erection of magnificent public buildings, and in the beautifying of the public walks and parks of Athens. The Academy, the favorite resort of the Athenians, owed much of its beauty to his munificence.

One of the most interesting ceremonies in which he took a leading part was the removal of what was declared to be the bones of the national hero Theseus from the island of Scyros, where the exiled king is fabled to have died, to a place of entombment at Athens. Over the sacred relics was erected a magnificent temple, which some archaeologists believe to be identical with the remarkably well-preserved building near the Areopagus, known as the Theseum.

Revolt of the Helots ; Cimon's Loss of Favor. — The popularity of Cimon at last declined, and he suffered ostracism, as had Aristides and Themistocles before him.

Cimon's loss of public favor came about in this manner. In the year 464 B.C., a terrible earthquake destroyed a large portion of Sparta, and buried a vast number of the inhabitants beneath the ruins of their city. In the panic of the appalling disaster the Spartans were led to believe that the evil had befallen them as a punishment for their recent violation of the Temple of Poseidon, from which some Helots who had fled to the sanctuary for refuge had been torn. The Helots, on their part, were quick to interpret the event as an intervention of the gods in their behalf, and as an unmistakable signal for their uprising. Everywhere they flew to arms, and, being joined by some of the Perioeci, furiously attacked their masters. The Spartans, after maintaining the bitter struggle for several years, finding themselves unable to reduce their former slaves to submission, were forced to ask aid of the other Grecian states.

The great Athenian statesman Pericles implored his countrymen not to lend themselves to the building up of the power of their rival. But the aristocratic Cimon, who had always entertained the most friendly feelings for the Spartans, exhorted the Athenians to put aside all sentiments of enmity or jealousy, and to extend succor to their kinsmen in this desperate posture of their affairs. "Let not Greece," said he, "be lamed, and thus Athens herself be deprived of her yokefellow." The great services Cimon had rendered the state entitled him to be heard. The assembly voted as he advised, and so the Athenian forces fought for some time side by side with the Lacedæmonians.

But the Spartans were distrustful of the sincerity of their allies, and this feeling gradually grew into positive fear lest the Athenians should take advantage of their position in the country and pass over to the side of the Helots. Acting under this apprehension, which was probably entirely groundless, they dismissed the Athenian forces. The discourtesy of the act aroused the most bitter

resentment at Athens. The party of Pericles, which had always opposed the resolution of aiding their rivals as impolitic and weakly sentimental, took advantage of the exasperated feelings of the people to effect some important changes in the constitution in favour of the people, which made it almost purely democratical in character,¹ and to secure the exercise of the ostracism against Cimon as the leader of the aristocratical party and the friend of Sparta (459 B.C.).

The Age of Pericles (459-431 B.C.).

General Features of the Age. — Under the inspiration of Pericles, the Athenian state now entered upon the most brilliant period of its history. The epoch embraces less than the lifetime of a single generation, yet its influence upon the civilization of the world can hardly be overrated. During this short period Athens gave birth to more great men — poets, artists, statesmen, and philosophers — than all the world besides has produced in any period of equal length.

Among all the great men of this age, Pericles stood pre-eminent. Such was the impression left by his commanding statesmanship, his persuasive eloquence, and his almost universal genius, upon the period in which he lived, that it is called after him the Periclean Age.² Yet though Pericles' power at Athens was almost absolute,

¹ These reforms were as follows: The court of the Areopagus, the stronghold of the aristocracy, was stripped of most of its censorial powers, which, with its judicial functions, were conferred upon courts (called *dicasteries*) each composed of five hundred citizens. This change transferred the most important functions of the state from an aristocratical body to the people at large. The senate of five hundred was also deprived of the greater part of its judicial powers. Ephialtes, the friend and supporter of Pericles, further caused the tablets of Solon's laws, which had been kept upon the Acropolis, to be brought down into the agora, as a symbol of the fact that the preservation and maintenance of the constitution was now intrusted to the people.

² This phrase is often loosely applied to the entire period of Athenian supremacy.

84 PERICLES FOSTERS THE NAVAL POWER OF ATHENS.

still this authority was simply that which talent and character justly confer. He ruled, as Plutarch says, by the art of persuasion.¹

During the Periclean period the Athenian democracy was supreme. The democratic constitution, the basis of which had been laid by Solon and broadened by Cleisthenes, was completed by the reforms to which we have already referred (see p. 83, note). Every matter that concerned the empire was discussed and decided by the popular assembly. Never before had any people enjoyed such perfect political liberty as did the citizens of Athens at this time, and never before were any people, through so intimate a knowledge of public affairs, so well able to direct the policies of state. Every citizen, it is affirmed, was qualified to hold civil office.



PERICLES.

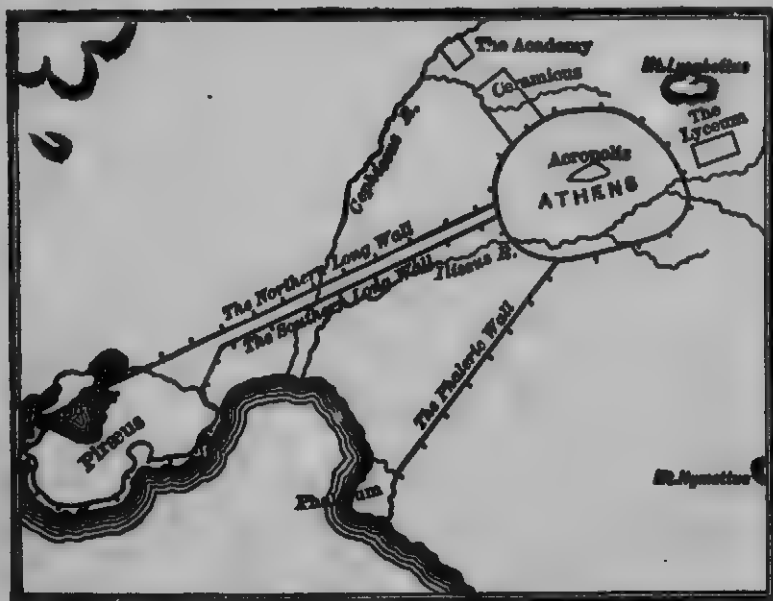
Pericles fosters the Naval Power of Athens. — Cimon's policy had been to keep the Grecian cities united in order that they might offer effectual resistance to the Persian power. The aim of his rival Pericles was to maintain Athens as the leading state in Hellas, and to oppose the pretensions of Sparta. Accordingly he encouraged the Athenians to strengthen their naval armament and to perfect themselves in naval discipline, for with Themistocles he was convinced that Athens' supremacy must depend chiefly upon her fleet.

As a part of his maritime policy, Pericles persuaded the Athenians to build what were known as the Long Walls² (about 457-

¹ The only offices he held were those of strategus (see p. 56), Superintendent of Public Works, and Superintendent of the Finances.

² The Long Walls were each between four and five miles in length, and

455 B.C.), which united Athens to the ports of Piræus and Phalerum. Later (445 B.C.), as a double security, a third wall was built parallel to the one running to the former harbor. By means of these great ramparts Athens and her ports, with the intervening land, were converted into a vast fortified district, capable in time



ATHENS AND THE LONG WALLS.

of war of holding the entire population of Attica. With her communication with the sea thus secured, and with a powerful navy at her command, Athens could bid defiance to her foes on sea and land.

One of the most important conquests of the Athenians during Pericles' leadership, in its bearing upon their maritime supremacy, was the subjugation of the island of Ægina, which lies in front of sixty feet high. They were defended by numerous towers, which, when Athens became crowded, were used as shops and private dwellings. The walls were employed as highways, the top being wide enough to allow two chariots to pass conveniently. The foundation of the northern wall now forms in part the road-bed of the railroad running from Piræus to Athens.

THE THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE.

the harbor of Piræus. This small but powerful state, which had for a long time been a formidable rival of Athens by sea, was now compelled to surrender its war galleys, and to pay tribute (456 B.C.).

Events leading up to the Thirty Years' Truce. — At the same time that Pericles was making Athens' supremacy by sea more secure, he was endeavoring to build up for her a land empire in Central Greece. As her influence in this quarter increased, Sparta became more and more jealous, and strove to counteract it by enhancing the power of Thebes, and by lending support to the aristocratic party in the various cities of Boeotia.

The contest between the two rivals was long and bitter. At first the Athenians were worsted, but at length the tide turned in their favor. All the cities of Boeotia, Phocis, and Locris fell under the power of Athens, and it seemed as though Pericles' dream of a land empire as well as of a naval dominion was about to be realized.

But fortune once more inclined to the side of the aristocratical party. The Athenian army experienced an overwhelming defeat (at Coronea, 447 B.C.), and Pericles was fain to seek peace with Sparta. The negotiations ended in the well-known Peace of Pericles, or the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). By its terms each of the rival cities was left at the head of the confederation it had formed, but neither was to interfere with the subjects or allies of the other, while those cities of Hellas which were not yet members of either league were to be left free to join either according to choice.

The real meaning of the Truce was that Athens gave up her ambition to establish a land empire, and was henceforth to be content with supremacy on the seas. It meant further that Greece was to remain a house divided against itself; that democratic Athens must share with aristocratic Sparta the hegemony, or leadership, of the Hellenic cities.

Pericles adorns Athens with Public Buildings. — Notwithstanding Pericles' failure to build up for Athens a land dominion,

*Amion dies & is buried at Salamis - a man of great
importance in Athens.*

*Demagogy 454-450
Pericles 450-429
Spartan Athens*

still he had contributed largely to give her a place of proud pre-eminence in maritime Hellas. Athens having achieved such a position as she now held, it was the idea of Pericles that the Athenians should so adorn their city that it should be a fitting symbol of the power and glory of their empire.

Nor was it difficult for him to persuade his art-loving countrymen to embellish their city with those masterpieces of genius that in their ruins still excite the admiration of the world.

Upon the commanding site of the Acropolis was erected the unrivalled Parthenon.¹ Here also, as a sort of gateway to the sacred enclosure of the citadel, were erected the Propylæa, which have served as a model for all similar structures since the age of Pericles. Various other edifices, rich with sculptures, were erected in different parts of Athens, until the whole city took on a surprisingly brilliant and magnificent appearance. The whole world looked up to the Attic city with the same surprised wonder with which a century before it had regarded the city of Babylon as adorned by the power and wealth of the great Nebuchadnezzar.

The Athenians secured the vast sums of money needed for the prosecution of their great architectural works, out of the treasury of the Delian confederacy. (It will be recalled that the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to their own city.) The allies naturally declaimed bitterly against this proceeding, complaining that Athens, with their money, was "gilding itself as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with jewels." But Pericles' answer to them was, that the money was contributed to the end that the cities of the league should be protected from the Persians, and that so long as the Athenians kept the enemy at a distance they had a right to use the money as they pleased.

The Citizens are taken into the Pay of the State. — It was a fixed idea of Pericles that in a democracy there should be not only an equal distribution of political rights among all classes, but also an equalization of the means and opportunities of exercising these

¹ See p. 138.

rights, as well as an equal participation by all in social and intellectual enjoyments. By such an equalization of the privileges and pleasures of political and social life, he would destroy the undue influence of the rich over the poor, and banish class envy and discord.

In promoting his views Pericles carried to great length the system of payment for the most common public services. Thus, he introduced the custom of military pay; hitherto the Athenian soldier had served his country in the field as a matter of honor and duty. He also secured the payment of the citizen for serving as a juryman, as well as for his attendance upon the meetings of the popular assembly. Through his influence, also, salaries were attached to the various civil offices, the most of which had hitherto been unpaid positions.

These various measures enabled the poorer citizens to enjoy, without an inconvenient sacrifice, their franchise in the popular assembly, and to offer themselves for the different magistracies, which up to this time had been practically open only to men of means and leisure.

It was the same motives that prompted the above innovation, which led the party of Pericles to introduce or to extend the practice of supplying all the citizens with free tickets to the theatre and other places of amusement, and of banqueting the people on festival days at the public expense. Respecting the effect of these measures upon the Athenian democracy, we shall say a word in the following paragraph.

Strength and Weakness of the Athenian Empire. — Under Pericles Athens had become the most powerful naval state in the world. In one of his last speeches, made at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, in which he recounts the resources of the Athenian empire, he says to his fellow-citizens: "There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy which at this juncture you can launch out to sea."

And this was no empty boast. The earlier empires of the East

that had once held dominion over wide countries had now sunk into decrepitude, and the later Medo-Persian power that had arisen upon their ruins, and which at the opening of the fifth century B.C. was threatening to extend its arms over the world, had been checked in its insolent advance by Hellenic valor and discipline, so that at this time there was no power in the East that the Athenians need fear. In the West, Rome had not yet risen into prominence, and Carthage was barely able to contend upon equal terms with the Greek cities of Sicily. Indisputably the Hellenes were at this moment the predominant race in the world; and Athens, notwithstanding the limitations placed upon her ambition by the terms of the Thirty Years' Truce, was the real head of Hellas. She had extended her dominion over a large part of the Greek cities, and it was but natural that the more sanguine of her statesmen should believe that she was destined to give laws to the world.

But the most significant feature of this new imperial power was the combination of these vast material resources with the most imposing display of intellectual resources that the world had ever witnessed. Never before had there been such a union of the material and intellectual elements of civilization at the seat of empire. Literature and art had been carried to the utmost perfection possible to human genius. Art was represented by the inimitable creations of Phidias and Polygnotus. The Drama was illustrated by the incomparable tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and by the comedies of Aristophanes, while the writing of the world's annals had become an art in the graceful narrations of Herodotus.

But there were elements of weakness in the splendid imperial structure. The Athenian empire was destined to be short-lived because the principles upon which it rested were a composition to the deepest instinct of the Greek race — the sentiment of local patriotism, which invested each individual city with political identity. Athens had disregarded this feeling. Pericles had argued that in the hands of the Athenians, sovereignty had

into a sort of tyranny. The so-called confederates were the slaves of Athens. To her they paid tribute. To her courts they were dragged for trial.¹ Naturally the subject cities of her empire regarded Athens as the destroyer of Hellenic liberties, and watched impatiently for the first favorable moment to revolt, and throw off the hateful yoke that she had imposed upon them. Hence the Athenian empire rested upon a foundation of sand.

Had Athens, instead of enslaving her confederates of the Delian league, only been able to find out some way of retaining them as allies in an equal union, — a great and perhaps impossible task in that age of the world, — as head of the federated Greek race, she might have secured for Hellas the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, and the history of Rome might have ended with the first century of the Republic.

Furthermore, there were elements of weakness within the Athenian democracy itself. Greatly as Pericles had exalted Athens, and vastly as he had extended her reputation, still by some of his measures he had sown the seeds of future evils. In his system of payment for the most common public services, and of wholesale public largesses and gratuities, he had introduced or encouraged practices that had the same demoralizing effects upon the Athenians that the free distribution of corn at Rome at a later time had upon the Roman populace. These pernicious customs cast discredit upon labor, destroyed frugality, and fostered idleness, thus sapping the virtues and strength of the Athenian democracy.

Illustrations of these weaknesses, as well as of the strength of the Athenian empire, will be afforded by the great struggle between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War, the causes and chief incidents of which we shall next rehearse.

¹ The subject cities were allowed to maintain only their lower courts of justice; all cases of importance were carried to Athens, and there decided by the Attic tribunals.

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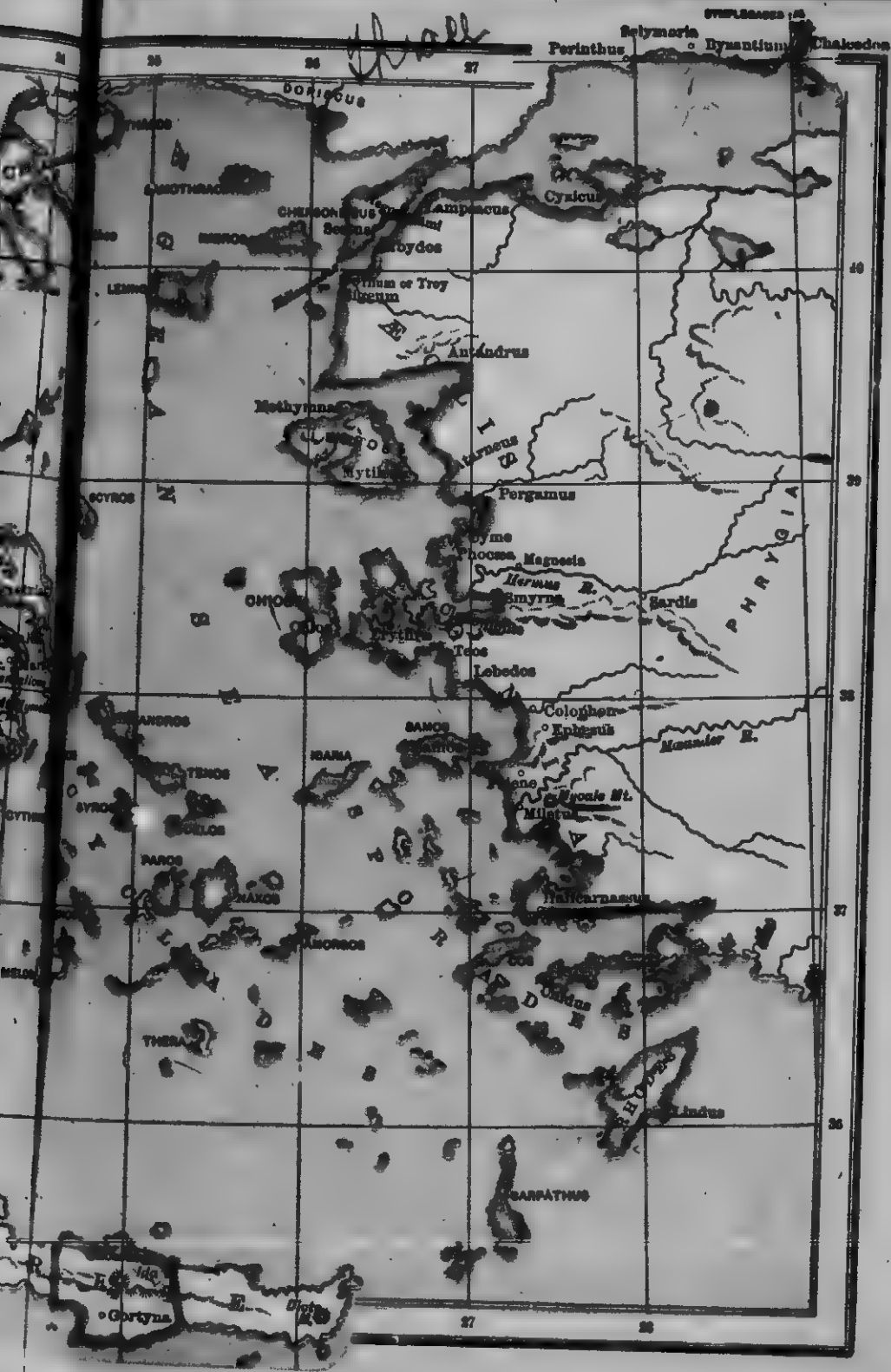
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Cause of Peloponnesian War

431 - 404

General Causes

- (1) Jealousy - growth of Athens
- (2) Diff. bet. Athens and Sparta - in institutions, tastes, ambitions
- (3) Young generations in Sparta anxious for war

Particular causes.

- (1) Megara
- (2) Aegina
- (3) Corinth and Corcyra
- (4) Potidaea
- (5) Congress at Sparta.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR: THE SPARTAN AND THE
THEBAN SUPREMACY.

I. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431-404 B.C.).

Causes of the War. — During the closing years of the life of Pericles the growing jealousy between Athens and Sparta broke out in the long struggle known as the Peloponnesian War, to which we alluded in the preceding chapter. Pericles had foreseen the coming storm: "I descry war," said he, "lowering from the Peloponnesus." He saw clearly that the jealousies and opposing principles of the two rival states would, sooner or later, in spite of truces and treaties, bring them to a final trial of strength. His whole later policy looked toward the preparation of Athens for the "irrepressible conflict."

The immediate causes of the war were, first, the interference of Athens, on the side of the Corcyraeans, in a quarrel between them and their mother-city Corinth; and secondly, the blockade by the Athenians of Potidæa, on the Macedonian coast. This was a Corinthian colony, but it was a member of the Delian league, and was now being chastised by Athens for attempted secession. Corinth, as the ever-jealous naval rival of Athens, had endeavored to lend aid to her daughter, but had been worsted in an engagement with the Athenians.

With affairs in this shape, Corinth, seconded by Megara and Ægina, both of which had causes of complaint against Athens, appealed to Sparta, as the head of the Dorian alliance, for aid and justice. The Spartans, after listening to the deputies of both

sides, decided that the Athenians had been guilty of injustice, and declared for war. The resolution of the Spartans was endorsed by the Peloponnesian confederation, and apparently approved by the Delphian oracle, which, in response to an inquiry of the Spartans as to what would be the issue of the proposed undertaking, assured them that "they would gain the victory, if they fought with all their might."

Comparison of the Resources of Sparta and of Athens. — The resources of Hellas were, at the outbreak of the war, very evenly divided between the two parties. With Sparta were all the states of the Peloponnesus, save Argos and Achaia, while beyond the Isthmus the Megareans, the Boeotian League headed by Thebes, the Locrians, and the Phocians were her chief allies. Together, these states could raise a land force of sixty thousand men, besides a considerable naval armament, Corinth being especially strong in ships.

Athens commanded all the resources of the subject cities — about three hundred in number, with twice as many smaller towns — of her great maritime empire. Her independent allies were Chios, Lesbos, Corcyra, and other states. Of course the chief strength of Athens lay in her splendid navy.

The Beginning: Attack upon Plataea by the Thebans. — The first act in the long and terrible drama was enacted at night, within the walls of Plataea. This city, though in Boeotia, was under the protection of Athens, and would have nothing to do with the Boeotian League, of which Thebes was the leading city.

Anxious to get possession of this place before the actual outbreak of the war which they saw to be inevitable, the Thebans planned its surprise and capture. Three hundred Thebans gained access to the unguarded city in the dead of night, and marching to the public square, summoned the Plataeans to exchange the Athenian for a Boeotian alliance.

The Plataeans were upon the point of acceding to all the demands made upon them, when, discovering the small number of the enemy, they attacked and overpowered them in the darkness,

and took a hundred and eighty of them prisoners. These captives they afterwards murdered, in violation, as the Thebans always maintained, of a sacred promise that their lives should be spared. This wretched affair at Platæa precipitated the war (431 B.C.).

Invasion of Attica: Pestilence at Athens. — A Spartan army was soon overrunning Attica, while an Athenian fleet was ravaging the coasts of the Peloponnesus.¹ Pericles persuaded the country people of Attica to abandon their villas and hamlets and gather within the defences of the city. He did not deem it prudent to risk a battle in the open fields. From the walls of Athens the people could see the flames of their burning villages and farmhouses, as the enemy ravaged the plains of Attica up to the very gates of the city. It required all the persuasion of Pericles to restrain them from issuing in a body from behind the ramparts and rushing to the defence of their homes.

The second year the Lacedæmonians again ravaged the fields about Athens, and drove the Athenians almost to frenzy with the sight of the flame and smoke of such property as had escaped the destruction of the previous year. To increase their misery, a pestilence broke out within the crowded city, and added its horrors to the already unbearable calamities of war. No pen could picture the despair and gloom that settled over the city. Athens lost, probably, one-fourth of her fighting men. Pericles, who had been the very soul and life of Athens through these dark days, fell a victim to the plague (429 B.C.). In dying, he said he considered his greatest praise to be that "he had never caused an Athenian to put on mourning."

¹ The war is usually divided into three periods, as follows: 1. From the beginning to the Peace of Nicias (431-421 B.C.), often designated as the Ten Years' War, or the Attic War, from the frequent invasions of Attica by the Peloponnesians; 2. From the Peace of Nicias to the defeat of the Sicilian expedition (421-413 B.C.); 3. From the Sicilian disaster to the dismantling of the defences of Athens (413-404 B.C.), called the Decelean War, from Decelea, a stronghold in Attica seized and held by the Spartans during this part of the struggle. This last period is also sometimes called the Ionian War, because so much of the fighting took place in Ionia.

After the death of Pericles the leadership of affairs at Athens fell into the hands of unprincipled demagogues, of whom Cleon was chief. The mob element got control of the popular assembly, so that hereafter we shall find many of its actions characterized neither by virtue nor wisdom.

Desperate and Cruel Character of the War. — On both sides the war was waged with the utmost vindictiveness and cruelty. As a rule, all the men captured by either side were killed.

In the year 428 B.C. the city of Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos, revolted from the Athenians. With the rebellion suppressed, the fate of the Mytileneans was in the hands of the Athenian assembly. Cleon proposed that all the men of the place, six thousand in number, should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. This infamous decree was passed, and a galley despatched bearing the sentence for execution to the Athenian general at Mytilene.

By the next morning, however, the Athenians had repented of their hasty and cruel resolution. A second meeting of the assembly was hurriedly called; the barbarous vote was repealed; and a swift trireme, bearing the reprieve, set out in anxious haste to overtake the former galley, which had twenty-four hours the start. The oarsmen of the trireme, with every nerve strung to the highest tension by the nature of their errand as well as by the promise of large rewards dependent upon the success of their mission, urged the vessel across the *Ægean* with almost preternatural energy. The trireme reached the island just in time to prevent the execution of the cruel edict.

The second resolution of the Athenians, though more discriminating than the first decree, was quite severe enough. Over one thousand of the nobles of Mytilene were killed, the city was destroyed, and the larger part of the lands of the island given to citizens of Athens.

Still more unrelenting and cruel were the Spartans. In the summer of the same year that the Athenians wreaked such vengeance upon the Mytileneans, the Spartans and their allies captured the

city of Plataea, put to death all the men, sold the women as slaves, and turned the site of the city into pasture-land.¹

Events leading up to the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). — Soon after the affair at Mytilene and the destruction of Plataea, events occurred which show how completely the Athenian assembly had fallen under the influence of unprincipled politicians.

An enterprising general of the Athenians, named Demosthenes, seized and fortified a point of land (Pylos) on the coast of Messenia. The Spartans made every effort to dislodge the enemy. In the course of the siege, four hundred Spartans under Brasidas, having landed upon a little island (Sphacteria), were so unfortunate as to be cut off from the mainland by the sudden arrival of an Athenian fleet. Among the men thus imprisoned were some members of the first Spartan families.

To effect the release of the men upon the island, the Spartans sent commissioners to Athens to beg for peace. The terms offered were such as should at once have been embraced by the Athenians. But Cleon, desiring the war to go on, persuaded the assembly to reject the offers of the ambassadors, and to propose terms which he knew could not and would not be accepted by them. The result was the return of the deputies to Sparta, and the breaking off of the negotiations.

The Athenians soon had occasion to repent of their action. It was found a difficult matter to capture the Spartans who were upon the island, and Demosthenes was forced to send to Athens for reinforcements. Cleon was sent with additional ships and men. Rather through good fortune than by good generalship, he succeeded in capturing the Spartans, to the number of about three hundred, and bringing them prisoners to Athens.

But affairs now took a different turn. The Athenians, having imprudently invaded Boeotia, were worsted at the battle of Delium (424 B.C.). Along with this disaster came other troubles further to the north. The able and eloquent Spartan general,

¹ Read Thucydides' graphic account of the siege and reduction of the city, Books II. and III.

Brasidas, stirred up some of the Thracian allies of Athens to revolt. In the fighting which followed in this quarter, Cleon and Brasidas were both killed in battle. Again negotiations for peace were opened, which, after many embassies to and fro, resulted in what is known as the Peace of Nicias, from the prominent Athenian general who is supposed to have had most to do in bringing it about. The treaty arranged for a truce of fifty years. Each party was to give up to the other all prisoners and captured places.

7 Alcibiades and the Sicilian Expedition (415-413 B.C.).—The Peace of Nicias, as Thucydides tells us, was only a nominal one. Some of the allies of the two principal parties to the truce were dissatisfied with it, and consequently its terms were not carried out in good faith or temper on either side. So the war went on. For about seven years, however, Athens and Sparta refrained from invading each other's territory; but even during this period each was aiding its allies in making war upon the dependents or confederates of the other. Finally, hostilities flamed out in open and avowed war, and all Hellas was again lit up with the fires of the fratricidal strife.

The most prominent person on the Athenian side during this latter period of the struggle was Alcibiades, a versatile and brilliant man, but a reckless and unsafe counsellor. He was a pupil of Socrates, but he failed to follow the counsels of his teacher. His astonishing orgies only seemed to attach the people more closely to him, for he possessed all those personal traits which make men popular idols. His influence over the democracy was unlimited. By the unscrupulous employment of the various arts known to the successful demagogue, he was able to carry through the popular assembly almost any measure that it pleased him to advocate.



ALCIBIADES

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The more prudent of the Athenians were filled with apprehension for the future of the state under such guidance. The noted misanthrope Timon gave expression to this feeling when, after Alcibiades had secured the assent of the popular assembly to one of his impolitic measures, he said to him: "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." And it did, as we shall see.

The most prosperous enterprise of Alcibiades, in the Timonian sense, was the inciting the Athenians to undertake an expedition against the Dorian city of Syracuse, in Sicily. The scheme that Alcibiades was revolving in his mind was a most magnificent one. He proposed that the Athenians, after effecting the conquest of Sicily, should make that island the base of operations against both Africa and Italy. With the Italians and Carthaginians subdued, the armaments of the entire Hellenic world outside of the Peloponnesus, were to be turned against the Spartans, who with one blow should be forever crushed, and Athens be left the arbiter of the destinies of Hellas.

Alcibiades succeeded in persuading the Athenians to undertake at least the first part of the colossal enterprise. An immense fleet was carefully equipped and manned.¹ Anxiously did those remaining behind watch the squadron as it bore away from the port of Athens. Could the watchers have foreseen the fate of the splendid armament, their anxiety would have passed into despair. "Athens itself was sailing out of the Piræus, never again to return."

Scarcely had the expedition arrived at Sicily, before Alcibiades, who was one of the leading generals in command of the armament, was summoned back to Athens to answer a charge of impiety.² Fearing to trust himself in the hands of his enemies at

¹ It consisted of one hundred and thirty-four costly triremes, bearing thirty-six thousand soldiers and sailors. The commanders were Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus. Later, Demosthenes was sent out with a reinforcement consisting of seventy-three triremes and five thousand soldiers.

² Just upon the eve of the departure of the expedition, the numerous statues of Hermes scattered throughout the city were grossly mutilated. The

Gyrfalke

Argo Argula League.

Athens, he fled to Sparta, and there, by traitorous counsel, did all in his power to ruin the very expedition he had planned. He advised the Spartans to send at once their best general to the Syracusans. They sent Gylippus, an able commander, whose generalship contributed largely to the total and irretrievable defeat that the Athenians finally suffered.¹ Their fleet and army were both virtually annihilated. The Athenian generals Nicias and Demosthenes, who with about seven thousand soldiers were made prisoners, were condemned to death. Hearing of their sentence, they committed suicide. The other prisoners were crowded into the open stone quarries, where hundreds speedily died of exposure and starvation. Most of the wretched survivors were finally sold as slaves. The disaster was appalling and complete. The resources of Athens were wrecked.

The Decelean War: The Fall of Athens. — While the Athenians were before Syracuse, the Spartans, acting upon the advice of Alcibiades, had taken possession of and fortified a strong and commanding position known as Decelea, in Attica, only twelve miles from Athens. This was a thorn in the side of Athens. Secure in this stronghold, the Spartans could annoy and keep in terror almost all the Attic plain. Decelea further proved a sort of city of refuge for the Athenian slaves, thousands of whom here found an asylum. The occupation by the Spartans of this strategic point had such a determining influence upon the remainder of the Peloponnesian War, that this latter portion of it is known as the Decelean War (413-404 B.C.).

Taking advantage of the terrible misfortunes of Athens, her sacrilegious act naturally produced a terrible excitement. Alcibiades was accused of having a hand in the affair, and furthermore of having mimicked the sacred rites of the Eleusinian mysteries. Taking advantage of the absence of himself and friends, his enemies had secured the passage of a decree demanding his recall and trial.

¹ The ruin of the Athenians was rendered absolutely complete by the incompetency and superstition of Nicias, who, an eclipse of the moon occurring, persisted in following the advice of his soothsayers, and delayed for days a retreat upon which depended the salvation of his army.

subject-allies now revolted and fell away from her on every side. The Persians, ever ready to aid the Greeks in destroying one another, lent a willing ear to the solicitations of the traitor Alcibiades, and gave help to the Spartans.

The Athenians put forth almost superhuman efforts to retrieve their fortunes. Had they been united among themselves, perhaps their efforts would not have been in vain. But the oligarchical party, for the sake of ruining the democracy were willing to ruin the empire. While the army was absent from Athens, they overthrown the government, and established a sort of aristocratic rule (411 B.C.), under which affairs were in the hands of a council of Four Hundred. *Evil sea - results against Athens*

The Athenian troops, however, who were at Samos, would not recognise the new government. They voted themselves to be the true Athens, and forgetting and forgiving the past, recalled Alcibiades, and gave him command of the army, thereby well illustrating what the poet Aristophanes said respecting the disposition of the Athenians toward the spoiled favorite. — "They love, they hate, but cannot live without him."

Alcibiades detached the Persians from the side of the Spartans, and gained some splendid victories for Athens. But he could not undo the evil he had done. He had ruined Athens beyond redemption by any human power. Constantly the struggle grew more and more hopeless. Alcibiades was defeated, and fearing to face the Athenians, who had deposed him from his command, sought safety in flight.

Finally, at Ægospotami, on the Hellespont, the Athenian fleet was surprised and captured by the Spartans under Lysander (405 B.C.). The prisoners, three thousand in number, were massacred, and the usual rites of burial denied their bodies.

The battle of Ægospotami sealed the fate of Athens. "That night," writes the historian Xenophon, referring to the night upon which the news of the woful disaster reached Athens, "That night no man slept."

The towns on the Thracian and Macedonian coasts, and the

Islands of the *Ægean* belonging to the Athenian Empire, now fell into the hands of the Peloponnesians. Athens was besieged by sea and land, and soon forced to surrender.

Some of the allies insisted upon the total destruction of the city, and the conversion of its site into pasture-land. The Spartans, however, with apparent magnanimity, declared that they would never consent thus "to put out one of the eyes of Greece," strengthening the argument of the metaphor by urging in behalf of Athens the great service she had rendered Hellen in her struggle with the Barbarians.

The real motive, doubtless, of the Spartans in sparing the city was their fear lest, with Athens blotted out, Thebes or Corinth should become too powerful. So the city itself was spared, but the fortifications of Piræus and the Long Walls were levelled to the ground, the work of demolition being begun to the accompaniment of festive music (404 B.C.).

Sparta's power was now supreme. She had neither peer nor rival among all the Grecian states. Throughout the war she had maintained that her only purpose in warring against Athens was to regain liberty for the Grecian cities. We shall very soon see what sort of liberty it was that they enjoyed under her guardianship.

Results of the War. — "Never," says Thucydides, commenting upon the lamentable results of the Peloponnesian War, the worst consequences of which, however, he did not live to witness, "Never had so many cities been made desolate by victories; . . . never were there so many instances of banishment; never so many scenes of slaughter either in battle or sedition."

Athens was but the wreck of her former self. She had lost two hundred ships and sixty thousand men, including the killed among her allies. Things were just the reverse now of what they were at the time of the Persian invasion. When, with all Athens in ruins, Themistocles at Salamis was taunted by the Spartans with being a man without a city, he replied grandly, "Athens is here in her ships." But now the real Athens was gone: only the empty shell remained.

And all the rest of Hellas showed the marks of the cruel war. Spots where once had stood large towns were now pasture-land. But more lamentable than all else besides, was the effect of the war upon the intellectual and moral life of the Greek race. The Grecian world had sunk many degrees in morality; while the vigor and productiveness of the intellectual and artistic life of Hellas, the centre and home of which had been Athens, were impaired beyond recovery. The achievements of the Greek intellect, especially in the fields of philosophic thought, in the century following the war were, it is true, wonderful; but these triumphs merely show, we may believe, what the Hellenic mind would have done for art and general culture, had it been permitted, unchecked, and under the favoring and inspiring conditions of liberty and self-government, to disclose all that was latent in it.

II. THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY.

Spartan Supremacy.—For just one generation following the Peloponnesian War (404–371 B.C.), Sparta held the leadership of the Grecian states. Aristocratical governments, with institutions similar to the Spartan, were established in the different cities of the old Athenian Empire. At Athens, the democratical constitution of Solon, under which the Athenians had attained their greatness, was abolished, and an oppressive oligarchy established in its stead. The Thirty Tyrants, however, who administered this government were, after eight months' infamous rule, driven from the city, and the old democratic constitution, somewhat modified, was re-established (403 B.C.).

It was during this period that Socrates, the greatest moralist and teacher of antiquity, was condemned to death, because his teachings were thought contrary to the religion of the Athenians. To this era also belongs the well-known expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks.

Expedition of the Ten Thousand (401-400 B.C.). — The aid given by the Persians to Sparta in the Peloponnesian War was not altogether unselfish. Cyrus, satrap of the Persian provinces of Asia Minor, thinking that his brother Artaxerxes held the throne unjustly,¹ was secretly planning to seize it for himself. In the latter part of the Peloponnesian War, when he saw the tide of events turning against Athens, he lent aid to the Spartans; proposing thus to place them under obligation to himself, so that he could ask their aid in his contemplated enterprise. Now the time had come for the return of the favor. To the army of one hundred thousand barbarians which Cyrus had raised in Asia, the Spartans added about eleven thousand Greek soldiers.

With this force Cyrus set out from Sardis, in the spring of 401 B.C. He marched without opposition across Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to Babylonia, into the very heart of the Persian Empire. Here, at Cunaxa, he was confronted by Artaxerxes with a force of more than half a million of men. The barbarian allies of Cyrus were scattered at the first onset of the enemy; but the Greeks stood like a rampart of rock. Cyrus, however, was slain; and the other Greek generals, having been persuaded to enter into a council, were treacherously murdered by the Persians.

The Greeks, in a hurried night meeting, chose new generals to lead them back to their homes. One of these was Xenophon, the popular historian of the expedition. Now commenced one of the most memorable retreats in all history. After a most harassing march over the hot plains of the Tigris and the icy passes of Armenia, the survivors reached the Black Sea, the abode of sister-Greek colonies.

Decline of the Spartan State: the Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). — The part taken by the Greeks in the enterprise of Cyrus

¹ "It was a matter of dispute whether the right of succession belonged to the eldest son, or to the son born first after his father's accession to the throne. The accession of Xerxes had been decided by the fact that he was born during the reign of Darius." — RANKIN. According to this precedent, the throne now belonged to Cyrus.

led the Persian monarch Artaxerxes to seek revenge by interfering anew in the affairs of Greece. The Greek cities of Asia were the first to feel the resentment of the Great King. The Spartans, under their king Agesilaus, extended them timely and efficient aid. At one time it seemed as though the Persian authority in Asia Minor would be completely destroyed.

But meanwhile Persian gold was effecting in Greece what the Persian sword was unable to accomplish in Asia. The emissaries of Artaxerxes, by persuasions and bribes, had secured a coalition of the Grecian states against Sparta, and the threatening movements of these forced Agesilaus to return in haste to defend his own country. A disastrous struggle known as the Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.) now followed, in which the Spartans contended against the Athenians, the Thebans, the Corinthians, the Argives, and the Persians. Finally, after all parties were weary of the contest, the war was ended by the Peace of Antalcidas, so called from the Spartan commissioner who arranged the articles of the treaty.

By the terms of this peace, famous because so infamous, all the Greek cities of Asia Minor, as well as the island of Cyprus and the island-city of Clazomenæ, were handed over to the Persians. Three islands — Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros — were given to Athens. All the other islands, and the states of the Grecian mainland, were left each in a condition of isolated independence. No city was to rule over others, or to exact tribute from them. The edict of King Artaxerxes closed as follows: "Whosoever refuses to accept this peace, him I shall fight, assisted by those who are of the same mind [which meant the Spartans], by land as well as by sea, with ships and with money."

Sparta has been accused of selfishness in the part she took in forcing the Grecian states to accept the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas. But we should not be too ready to cast blame upon her. It is true that, in order to break the coalition that had been formed against her, she bartered away the liberties of the Hellenic cities in Asia; but we must bear in mind that this measure was

dictated by the instinct of self-preservation. There were at Sparta some at least animated by feelings of sufficiently generous patriotism to cause them to lament the circumstances that thus laid Greece open to the mercy of her enemy. Among these was the patriot king Agesilaus, whom Plutarch calls the "Thought Commander and King of all Greece." Referring to the jealousies and contentions of the Hellenic states which had now resulted in making the hated Persians arbiters in their affairs, he exclaimed, "Alas for Greece! she has killed enough of her sons to have conquered all these Barbarians."

The Peace of Antalcidas left Sparta free to prosecute anew her schemes of aggression and tyranny towards the other Grecian states, which were now too divided and weakened to offer any effectual resistance to her oppressive course. But finally the fiery resentment kindled by her tyrannous measures inspired such a determined revolt against her as brought to an end her assumed supremacy over her sister cities.

Theban Supremacy (371-362 B.C.). — It was a city in Boeotia that led the uprising against Sparta. This was Thebes. The oligarchical government which the Lacedæmonians had set up in that capital was overthrown by Pelopidas at the head of the so-called Sacred Band, a company of three hundred select men who were bound by oath to stand by each other to the last. Pelopidas was seconded in all his efforts by Epaminondas, one of the ablest generals the Grecian race ever produced. Under the masterly guidance and inspiration of these patriot leaders, Thebes very soon secured a predominating influence in the affairs of Greece.

Like many others who have done most for their generation, Epaminondas was often unjustly accused and persecuted. He it was who, when his enemies sought to disgrace and annoy him by electing him "public scavenger," made, in accepting the office, the memorable utterance, "If the office will not reflect honor upon me, I will reflect honor upon it."

At Leuctra (371 B.C.) the Thebans earned the renown of being the most invincible soldiers in the world by completely overthrow-

ing, with a force of six thousand men, the Spartan army of twice that number. This is said to have been the first time that the Spartans were ever fairly defeated in open battle. Their forces had been annihilated, as at Thermopylæ, — but annihilation is not defeat.

From the victory of Leuctra dates the short but brilliant period of Theban hegemony. The year after that battle Epaminondas led an army into the Peloponnesus to aid the Arcadians, who had risen against Sparta. Laconia was ravaged, and for the first time Spartan women saw the smoke of fires kindled by an enemy.

To strengthen Arcadia's power of resistance to Sparta, Epaminondas perfected a league among the hitherto isolated towns and cantons of the district. As the mutual jealousies of the leading cities prevented him from making any one of them the capital of the confederation, he founded Megalopolis, or the Great City, and made it the head of the union.

In the pursuit of the same policy, Epaminondas also restored the independence of Messenia, thus enforcing upon Sparta in regard to this province the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas. That the liberated Messenians might be better able to maintain the independence he had restored to them, Epaminondas founded as a stronghold a city, called Messene, upon Mount Ithome, a rocky eminence made renowned through its heroic defence by the Messenians in their old-time wars with Sparta.

Thus, almost in a day, did Epaminondas, as he himself said, "make all Greece free, restore independence to Messenia, and surround Sparta with a perpetual blockade."

But, moved by jealousy of the rapidly growing power of Thebes, Athens now formed an alliance with her old rival Sparta against her. Three times more did Epaminondas lead an army into the Peloponnesus in the interest of Thebes, and for the furtherance of his ambitious plans. During his third and last expedition he fought with the Spartans and Athenians the great battle of Mantinea, in Arcadia. On this memorable field, Epaminondas led the

Thebans once more to victory ; but he himself was slain, and with him fell the hopes and power of Thebes (362 B.C.).

All the states of Greece now lay exhausted, worn out by their endless domestic contentions and wars. There was scarcely sufficient strength left to strike one worthy blow against enslavement by the master destined soon to come from the North.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD OF MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY: EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER.

(336-323 B.C.)

Macedonian Rulers of Hellenic Race. — Although political power and influence have now passed away from the Grecian cities of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, still we must not think that political authority has departed from the Hellenic race; for though the mass of the population of the country of Macedonia, which lay to the north of Greece proper, and which is now to assume the lead in the civil affairs of the Greeks, may not have sprung from the same identical stock as that from which the Hellenes arose, still the ruling class of that country were the same in race, language, and religion. The kings even took part in the Olympian games — a privilege accorded to none but pure Hellenes. Their efforts to spread Greek art and culture among their subjects, a race of rough but brave and martial men, unaccustomed to city life, had been so far successful that the country had, to a certain degree, become Hellenized.

So this period of Macedonian supremacy upon which we are entering belongs to the history of the political life of the Greek race, as well as the eras marked by Athenian, Spartan, or Theban leadership. It was Hellenic institutions, customs, and manners, Hellenic language and civilization, that the Macedonians, in the extended conquests which we are about to narrate, spread over the world.¹ It is this which makes the short-lived Macedonian empire so important in universal history.

¹ Of course it was rather the outer forms than the real inner life and spirit of the old Greek civilization which were adopted by the non-Hellenic peoples

Philip of Macedon. — Macedonia first rose to importance during the reign of Philip II. (359–336 B.C.), better known as Philip of Macedon. He was a man of pre-eminent ability, of wonderful address in diplomacy, and possessed rare genius as an organizer and military chieftain. The art of war he had learned in youth as a hostage-pupil of Epaminondas of Thebes. He was the originator of the "Macedonian phalanx," a body as renowned in the military history of Macedonia as is the "legion" in that of Rome.¹

With his kingdom settled and consolidated at home, Philip's ambition led him to seek the leadership of the Grecian states. He sought to gain his purpose rather by artful diplomacy and intrigue than by open force. In the use of these weapons he might have been the teacher of the Athenian Themistocles.

Conquest of Olynthus and Thrace. — By force and intrigue Philip extended his power over the Greek cities of Chalcidice, a number of which under the lead of Olynthus formed a league known as the Olynthian Confederacy. The Athenians had interests in this quarter, several cities of the peninsula being subject to them, and they, as soon as their eyes were opened to Philip's real designs by his treacherous dealings with them, set themselves to thwart his plans. But they unfortunately acted with little of their old-time energy, and the result was that Philip had very much his own way. He first made friends of the Olynthians, and then, in punishment for their having given up their alliance with him for one with Athens, he took and destroyed Olynthus, and sold the

of Egypt and Western Asia. Hence the resulting culture is given a special name. "This civilization, Greek in its general character, but pervading people not exclusively Greek by race, is properly called *Hellenism*, which means, — not 'being Hellenes,' or Greeks, but — 'doing like Hellenes'; and as the adjective answering to *Hellas* is *Hellenic*, so the adjective answering to *Hellenism* is *Hellenistic*." — JEBB, *Greek Literature*, p. 138.

¹ The phalanx was formed of soldiers drawn up sixteen files deep, and armed with pikes so long that those of the first five ranks projected beyond the front of the column, thus opposing a perfect thicket of spears to the enemy. On level ground it was irresistible.

inhabitants into slavery (348 B.C.). He also destroyed thirty other towns in the peninsula. Thus all Chalcidice became a part of Macedonia.

Meanwhile Philip was also subduing the barbarians of Thrace, and pushing his eastern frontier towards the Hellespont. All the western part of Thrace, with its rich gold mines, quickly fell into his hands. In this quarter he founded the important and well-known city of Philippi.¹ At a later period, his attempt against Byzantium was foiled by the Athenians, who aided the inhabitants in the defence of their city, because it was the key to the Black Sea region, in the trade of which the Athenians were deeply interested, as they drew from thence their supplies of corn.

The Second Sacred War (355-346 B.C.).—At the same time that Philip was thus extending his power over Thrace and the Greek cities of Chalcidice, he was, in the following way, acquiring a commanding position in the affairs of the states of Greece proper.

The Phocians had put to secular use some of the lands which, at the end of the First Sacred War (see p. 32), had been consecrated to the Delphian Apollo. Taken to task and heavily fined for this act by the other members of the Delphian Amphictyony, the Phocians deliberately robbed the temple, and used the treasure in the maintenance of a large force of mercenary soldiers. Thus they were enabled to hold out against all their enemies, chief among whom were the Thebans. The Amphictyons not being able to punish the Phocians for their impiety, were forced to ask help of Philip, who gladly rendered the assistance sought.

The Phocians were now quickly subdued, their cities were destroyed, and the inhabitants scattered in villages and forced to pay tribute to the Delphian Apollo. The place that the Phocians had held in the Delphian Amphictyony was given to Philip, upon

¹ Philippi was the first European city in which the Gospel was preached. The preacher was the Apostle Paul, who went over from Asia in obedience to the vision in which a man of Macedonia seemed to stand and pray, "Come over into Macedonia, and help us."

whom was also bestowed the privilege of presiding at the Pythian games. The position he had now secured was just what Philip had coveted, in order that he might use it to make himself master of all Greece.

Battle of Chæronæa (338 B.C.).—Demosthenes at Athens was one of the few who seemed to understand the real designs of Philip. His penetration, like that of Pericles, descried a cloud lowering over Greece—this time from the North. With all the energy of his wonderful eloquence, he strove to stir up the Athenians to resist the encroachments of the king of Macedon. He hurled against him his famous "Philippics," speeches so filled with fierce denunciation that they have given name to all writings characterized by bitter criticism or violent invective.

At length the Athenians and Thebans, aroused by the oratory of Demosthenes and by some fresh encroachments of the Macedonians, united their forces, and met Philip upon the memorable field of Chæronæa in Bœotia. The Macedonian phalanx swept everything before it. The Theban band was annihilated. The power and authority of Philip were now extended and acknowledged throughout Greece (338 B.C.).

Plan to Invade Asia.—While the Greek states were divided among themselves, they were united in an undying hatred of the Persians. They were at this time meditating an enterprise fraught with the greatest importance to the history of the world. This was a joint expedition against Persia. The march of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the very heart of the dominions of the Great King had encouraged this national undertaking, and illustrated the feasibility of the conquest of Asia. At a great council of the Grecian cities held at Corinth, Philip was chosen leader of this expedition. All Greece was astir with preparation. In the midst of all, Philip was assassinated during the festivities attending the marriage of his daughter, and his son Alexander succeeded to his place and power (336 B.C.).

Alexander the Great.—Alexander was only twenty years of age when he came to his father's throne. The genius which he

won for him the title of "Great" was foreshadowed in early youth. The familiar and well-told story of the vicious steed Bucephalus, which none dared mount or approach, but which was subdued in a moment by the boy Alexander, exhibits that subtle magnetism



HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

of his nature by which he acquired such wonderful influence and command over men in after-years. The spirit of the man is again shown in the complaint of the boy when news of his father's victories came to him: "Friends," said he to his playmates,

"my father will possess himself of everything, and leave nothing for us to do."

Alexander crosses the Hellespont (334 B.C.).—For about two years Alexander was busy suppressing revolts against his power among the different cities of Hellas, and chastising hostile tribes on the northern frontiers of Macedonia. Thebes having risen against him, he razed the city to the ground, — sparing, however, the house of the poet Pindar, — and sold thirty thousand of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus was one of the most renowned of the cities of Greece blotted out of existence.

Alexander was now free to carry out his father's scheme in regard to the Asiatic expedition. In the spring of 334 B.C., with all his plans matured, he set out, at the head of an army numbering about thirty-five thousand men, for the conquest of the Persian Empire. Now commenced one of the most remarkable and swiftly executed campaigns recorded in history.

Crossing the Hellespont, Alexander routed the Persians at the important battle of the Granicus, by which victory all Asia Minor was laid open to the invader. Three hundred suits of armor, selected from the spoils of the field, were sent as a votive offering to the Temple of Athena at Athens.

The Gordian Knot. — On Alexander's route through Asia Minor was the city of Gordium, where, in the temple of Zeus, hung the celebrated Gordian knot. Respecting this the following story is told: An oracle had commanded the Phrygians, in a time of great perplexity, to choose as their king the first person that came to sacrifice in the Temple of Zeus. The peasant Gordius was the one whom chance designated. He was riding in a wagon when the people proclaimed him king. Some accounts, however, say that it was his son Midas — who was with his father — that was elevated to the throne. Grateful to the gods for the honor that had fallen upon his house, Gordius consecrated the wagon as a memorial in the temple of Zeus.

It was gradually spread abroad that an oracle had declared that whoever should untie the skilfully fastened knot which united the

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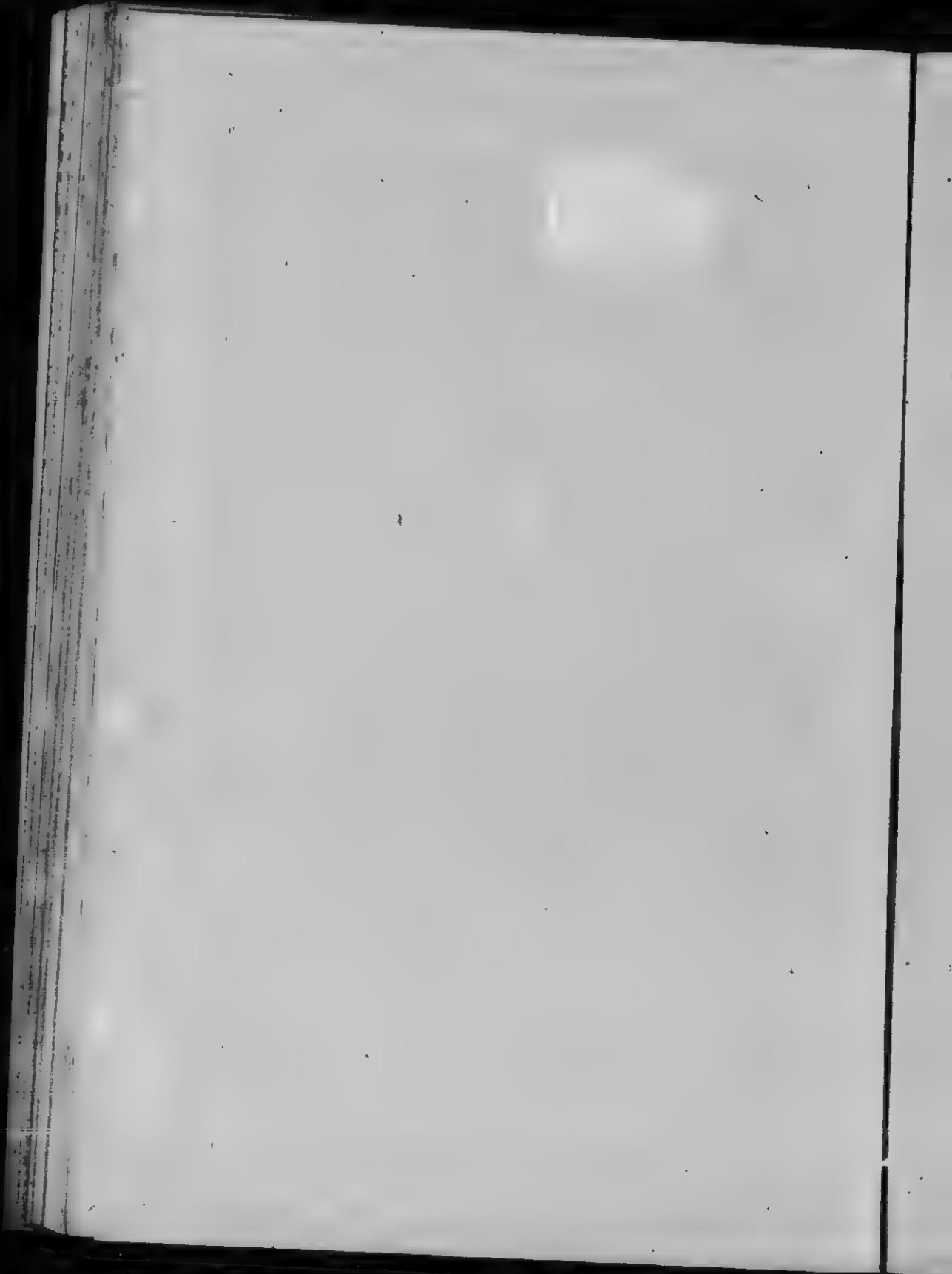
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DOMINIONS AND DEPENDENCIES OF **ALEXANDER** O.R.O. 222





yoke to the pole of the chariot would be master of Asia. Alexander attempted the feat. Unable to loosen the artful knot, he impetuously drew his sword and cut it. Hence the phrase "cutting the Gordian knot," meaning a short way out of a difficulty. The marvellous fulfilment of the prediction in the subsequent successes of Alexander gave new faith and credit to the oracle.

The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.). — At the northeast corner of the Mediterranean lies the plain of Issus. Here Alexander again defeated the Persian army, numbering six hundred thousand men. The family of Darius, including his mother, wife, and children, fell into the hands of Alexander; but the king himself escaped from the field, and hastened to his capital, Susa, to raise another army to oppose the march of the conqueror.

Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.). — Before penetrating to the heart of the empire, Alexander turned to the south, in order to effect the subjugation of Phoenicia, that he might command the Phoenician fleets and prevent their being used to sever his communication with Greece. The island city of Tyre, after a memorable siege, was taken by means of a mole, or causeway, built with incredible labor through the sea to the city. This mole was constructed out of the ruins of old Tyre and the forests of Lebanon. It still remains, uniting the desolate rock with the mainland. When at last, with the aid of the Sidonian fleet, the city was taken, after a siege of seven months, eight thousand of the inhabitants were slain, and thirty thousand sold into slavery — a terrible warning to those cities that should dare to close their gates against the Macedonian. The reduction of Tyre has been considered the greatest military achievement of Alexander.

Alexander in Egypt. — With the cities of Phoenicia and the fleets of the Mediterranean subject to his control, Alexander easily effected the conquest of Egypt. The Egyptians, indeed, made no resistance to the Macedonians, but willingly exchanged masters.

While in the country, Alexander founded, at one of the mouths of the Nile, a city called after himself, Alexandria. Ranke believes this to have been the "first city in the world, after the

Praeus at Athens, erected expressly for purposes of commerce." The city became the meeting-place of the East and the West; and its importance through many centuries attests the far-sighted wisdom of its founder.

A less worthy enterprise of the conqueror was his expedition to the oasis of Siwah, located in the Libyan desert, where were a celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. To gratify his own vanity, as well as to impress the superstitious barbarians, Alexander desired to be declared of celestial descent. The priests of the temple, in accordance with the wish of the king, gave out that the oracle pronounced Alexander to be the son of Zeus Ammon, and the destined ruler of the world.

The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.). — From Egypt Alexander recommenced his march towards the Persian capital. He had received offers of peace from Darius, but to these he is said to have replied, "There cannot be two suns in the heavens." Pushing on, he crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris without opposition; but upon the plain of Arbela, not far from ancient Nineveh, he found his further advance disputed by Darius with an immense army. Again the Macedonian phalanx "cut through the ranks of the Persians as a boat cuts through the waves." Darius fled from the field, only to be treacherously assassinated by one of his own generals. Alexander avenged his death, and caused his body to be buried with all the pompous ceremonial of the Persians.

The battle of Arbela was one of the decisive combats of history. It marked the end of the long struggle between the East and the West, between Persia and Greece, and prepared the way for the spread of Hellenic civilization over all Western Asia.

Alexander at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. — From the field of Arbela Alexander marched south to Babylon, which opened its gates to him without opposition. To attach the Babylonians to himself, he restored the temples which Xerxes had destroyed, and offered sacrifices in the temple of Bel.

Susa was next entered by the conqueror. Here he seized

incredible quantities of gold and silver (\$57,000,000, it is said), the treasure of the Great King.

From Susa Alexander's march was next directed to Persepolis, where he secured a treasure more than twice as great (\$138,000,000, according to some) as that found at Susa. Upon Persepolis Alexander wreaked vengeance, for all Greece had suffered at the hands of the Persians. Many of the inhabitants were massacred, and others sold into slavery; while the palaces of the Persian kings were given to the flames.

Alexander, having thus overthrown the power of Darius, now began to regard himself, not only as his conqueror, but as his successor, and was thus looked upon by the Persians. He assumed the pomp and state of an Oriental monarch, and required the most obsequious homage from all who approached him. His Greek and Macedonian companions, unused to paying such servile adulation to their king, were much displeased at Alexander's conduct, and from this time on to his death, intrigues and conspiracies were being constantly formed among them against his power and life.

Alexander in the Arian Home.—Urged on by an uncontrollable desire to possess himself of the most remote countries of which any accounts had ever reached him, Alexander now led his army to the north, and, after subduing many tribes that dwelt about the Caspian Sea and among the mountainous regions of what is now known as Afghanistan, boldly conducted his soldiers over the snowy and dangerous passes of Hindu Kush, and descended into Bactria. Had Alexander possessed our modern knowledge of the relationships of the different Arian peoples, he might have claimed, as he would have been very likely to do, the entire country as having once belonged to his ancestors.¹

During the years 329-328 B.C. Alexander conquered not only Bactria, but Sogdiana, a country lying north of the Oxus. The capture of the Sogdian Rock is considered one of his great

¹ See *High School English Grammar*, pp. 10, 11.

exploits. Among the captives was a beautiful Bactrian princess, Roxana by name, who became the bride of Alexander.

Throughout those distant regions Alexander founded numerous cities, several of which bore his own name. One of them is said to have been built, wall and houses, in twenty days. These new cities were peopled with captives, and by those whom fatigue and wounds would no longer allow to follow the conqueror in his swift campaigns.

Alexander's stay in Sogdiana was saddened by his murder of his dearest friend Clitus, who had saved his life at the Granicus. Both were flushed with wine when the quarrel arose: after the deed, Alexander was overwhelmed with remorse.¹

Conquests in India. — With the countries north of the Hindu Kush subdued and settled, Alexander recrossed the mountains, and led his army down upon the rich and crowded plains of India (327 B.C.). Here again he showed himself invincible, and received the submission of many of the native princes of the country.

The most formidable resistance encountered by the Macedonians was offered by a strong and wealthy king named Porus. Captured at last and brought into the presence of Alexander, his proud answer to the conqueror's question as to how he thought he ought to be treated was, "Like a king." The impulsive Alexander gave him back his kingdom, to be held, however, subject to the Macedonian crown.

Alexander's desire was to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but his soldiers began to murmur because of the length and hardness of their campaigns, and he reluctantly gave up the undertaking. To secure the conquests already made, he founded, at different points in the valley of the Indus, Greek towns and colo-

¹ The Macedonian kingdom which grew out of the conquests of Alexander in Central Asia, lasted for about two centuries after his death; that is, these Bactrian countries were ruled by Hellenic princes for that length of time. Traditions of the conqueror still linger in the land, and coins, and plate with subjects from classic mythology, are frequently turned up at the present day.

nies. One of these he named Alexandria, after himself; another Bucephala, in memory of his favorite steed; and still another Nicæa, for his victories. The modern museum at Lahore contains many relics of Greek art, dug up on the site of these Macedonian cities and camps.

Rediscovery of the Sea-route from the Indus to the Euphrates. — It was Alexander's next care to bind these distant conquests in the East to those in the West. To do this, it was of the first importance to establish water-communication between India and Babylonia. Now, strange as it may seem, the Greeks had no positive knowledge of what sea the Indus emptied into, and only a vague idea that there was a water-way from the Indus to the Euphrates. This important maritime route, once known to the civilized world, had been lost, and needed to be rediscovered.

So the conqueror Alexander now turned explorer. He sailed down the Indus to the head of the delta, where he founded a city, which he called Alexandria. This was to be to the trade of India what Alexandria upon the Nile was to that of Egypt. With this new commercial city established, Alexander sailed on down to the mouth of the river, and was rejoiced to find himself looking out upon the southern ocean.

He now despatched his trusty admiral Nearchus, with a considerable fleet, to explore this sea, and to determine whether it communicated with the Euphrates. He himself, with the larger part of the army, marched westward along the coast. His march thus lay through the ancient Gedrosia, now Beluchistan, a region frightful with burning deserts, amidst which his soldiers endured almost incredible privations and sufferings.

After a trying and calamitous march of over two months, Alexander, with the survivors of his army, reached Carmania. Here, to his unbounded joy, he was joined by Nearchus, who had made the voyage from the Indus successfully, and thus "rediscovered one of the most important maritime routes of the world," the knowledge of which, among the Western nations, was never again to be lost.

To celebrate appropriately his conquests and discoveries, Alexander instituted a series of religious festivals, amidst which his soldiers forgot the dangers of their numberless battles and the hardships of their unparalleled marches, which had put to the test every power of human endurance.

And well might these veterans glory in their achievements. In a few years they had conquered half the world, and changed the whole course of history.

Plans and Death of Alexander. — As the capital of his vast empire, which now stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus, Alexander chose the ancient Babylon, upon the Euphrates. His designs, we have reason to believe, were to push his conquests as far to the west as he had extended them to the east. Arabia, Carthage, Italy, and Spain were to be added to his already vast domains. Indeed, the plans of Alexander embraced nothing less than the union and Hellenizing of the world. Not only were the peoples of Asia and Europe to be blended by means of colonies, but even the floras of the two continents were to be intermingled by the transplanting of fruits and trees from one continent to the other. Common laws and customs, a common language and a common religion, were to unite the world into one great family. Intermarriages were to blend the races. Alexander himself married a daughter of Darius III., and also one of Artaxerxes Ochus; and to ten thousand of his soldiers, whom he encouraged to take Asiatic wives, he gave magnificent gifts.

In the midst of his vast projects, Alexander was seized by a fever, brought on, doubtless, by his insane excesses, and died at Babylon, 323 B.C., in the thirty-second year of his age. His soldiers could not let him die without seeing him. The watchers of the palace were obliged to open the doors to them, and the veterans of a hundred battle-fields filed sorrowfully past the couch of their dying commander. His body was carried, first, to Memphis, but afterwards to Alexandria, in Egypt, and there enclosed in a golden coffin, over which was raised a splendid mausoleum. His ambition for celestial honors was gratified in his death; for in

Egypt and elsewhere temples were dedicated to him, and divine worship was paid to his statues.

Character of Alexander. — We must not pass this point without a word, at least, respecting the character of this remarkable man, who, in a brief career of twelve years, changed entirely the currents of history, and pressed them into channels which they would not have followed but for the influence of his life and achievements.

We cannot deny to Alexander, in addition to a remarkable genius for military affairs, a profound and comprehensive intellect. The wisdom shown in the selection of Alexandria in Egypt as the great depot of the exchanges of the East and West has been amply proved by the rare fortunes of that city. His plans for the union of Europe and Asia, and the fusion of their different races, might indeed seem visionary, were it not that the degree in which this was actually realized during subsequent centuries attests the sanity of the attempt. He had fine tastes, and liberally encouraged art, science, and literature. Apelles, Praxiteles, and Lysippus had in him a munificent patron; and to his preceptor Aristotle he sent large collections of natural-history objects, gathered in his extended expeditions. He had an impulsive, kind, and generous nature: he avenged the murder of his enemy Darius; and he repented in bitter tears over the body of his faithful Clitus. He exposed himself like the commonest soldier, sharing with his men the hardships of the march and the dangers of the battle-field.

But he was self-seeking and self-indulgent, foolishly vain, and madly ambitious of military glory. He plunged into shameful excesses, and gave way to bursts of passion that transformed a usually mild and generous disposition into the fury of a madman. The vindictive cruelty he manifested in his treatment of the Tyrians can be only partially palliated by reference to the spirit and usages of his age. The contradictions of his life cannot, perhaps, be better expressed than in the words once applied to the gifted Themistocles: "He was greater in genius than in character."

Results of Alexander's Conquests. — The remarkable conquests

of Alexander had far-reaching consequences. They ended the long struggle between Persia and Greece, and spread Hellenic civilization over Egypt and Western Asia. The distinction between Greek and Barbarian was obliterated, and the sympathies of men, hitherto so narrow and local, were widened, and thus an important preparation was made for the reception of the cosmopolitan creed of Christianity. The world was also given a universal language of culture, which was a further preparation for the spread of Christian teachings. Nor should we fail to recall the rediscovery of the maritime route from India to Europe, which the historian Ranke, regarding its influence upon trade and commerce, views as one of the most important results of Alexander's expedition.

But the evil effects of the conquest were also positive and far-reaching. The sudden acquisition by the Greeks of the enormous wealth of the Persian Empire, and contact with the vices and effeminate luxury of the Oriental nations, had a most demoralizing effect upon Hellenic life. Greece became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome. Thus the civilization of antiquity was undermined.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF GRECIAN HISTORY TO THE
DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Legendary Age . . .	{ The Trojan War, legendary date	1194-1184
	{ The Dorians enter the Peloponnesus, about	1104
Early History of Sparta	{ Lycurgus gives laws to Sparta.	850
	{ The Messenian Wars	750-650
Early History of Athens	{ Rule of the Archons	1050-612
	{ Rebellion of Cylon	612
	{ Legislation of Solon	594
	{ Pisistratus rules	560-527
	{ Expulsion of the Pisistratidae	510
Period of Græco- Persian War . . .	{ First Expedition of Darius (led by Mar- donius)	492
	{ Battle of Marathon	490
	{ Battle of Thermopylæ	480
	{ Battle of Salamis	480
	{ Battles of Platæa and Mycæe	479
	{ Athens rebuilt	478
Period of Athenian Supremacy . . .	{ Aristides chosen first president of the Con- federacy of Delos	477
	{ Themistocles sent into exile	471
	{ Ostracism of Cimon	459
	{ Pericles at the head of affairs—Periclean Age	459-431
Events of the Pelo- ponnesian War . .	{ Beginning of the Peloponnesian War	431
	{ Pestilence at Athens	430
	{ Expedition against Syracuse	415
	{ Battle of Ægospotami	405
	{ Close of the War	404
Period of Spartan Supremacy . . .	{ Rule of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens	404-403
	{ Expedition of the Ten Thousand	401-400
	{ Peace of Antalcidas	387
	{ Oligarchy established at Thebes	383
	{ Spartan power broken on the field of Leuc- tra	371
Period of Theban Supremacy . . .	{ Battle of Leuctra which secures the suprem- acy of Thebes	371
	{ Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminon- das	362
Period of Macedo- nian Supremacy .	{ Battle of Chæronea	338
	{ Death of Philip of Macedon	336
	{ Alexander crosses the Hellespont	334
	{ Battle of Issus	333
	{ Battle of Arbela	331
	{ Death of Alexander at Babylon	323

CHAPTER IX.

STATES FORMED FROM THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER.

Division of the Empire of Alexander.—There was no one who could wield the sword that fell from the hand of Alexander. It is told that, when dying, being asked to whom the kingdom should belong, he replied, "To the strongest," and handed his signet ring to his general Perdiccas. But Perdiccas was not strong enough to master the difficulties of the situation.¹ Indeed, who is strong enough to rule the world?

Consequently the vast empire created by Alexander's unparalleled conquests was distracted by quarrels and wars, and before the close of the fourth century B.C., had become broken into many fragments. Besides minor states,² four well-defined and important

¹ Perdiccas ruled as regent for Philip Arrideus (an illegitimate brother of Alexander), who was proclaimed titular king.

² Two of these lesser states, Rhodes and Pontus, deserve special notice.

Rhodes.—Rhodes became the head of a maritime confederation of the cities and islands along the coasts of Asia Minor, and thus laid the basis of a remarkable commercial prosperity and naval power. It was one of the chief centres of Hellenistic culture, and acquired a wide fame through its schools of art and rhetoric. Julius Caesar became a student here under Rhodian teachers of oratory.

Pontus.—Pontus (Greek for *sea*), a state of Asia Minor, was so called from its position upon the Euxine. It was never thoroughly conquered by the Macedonians. It has a place in history mainly because of the lustre shed upon it by the transcendent ability of one of its kings, Mithridates the Great (120–63 B.C.), who spread the fame of his little kingdom throughout the world by his able, and for a long time successful, resistance to the Roman arms. But his wars with Rome belong rather to the history of that city than to the annals of Greece.

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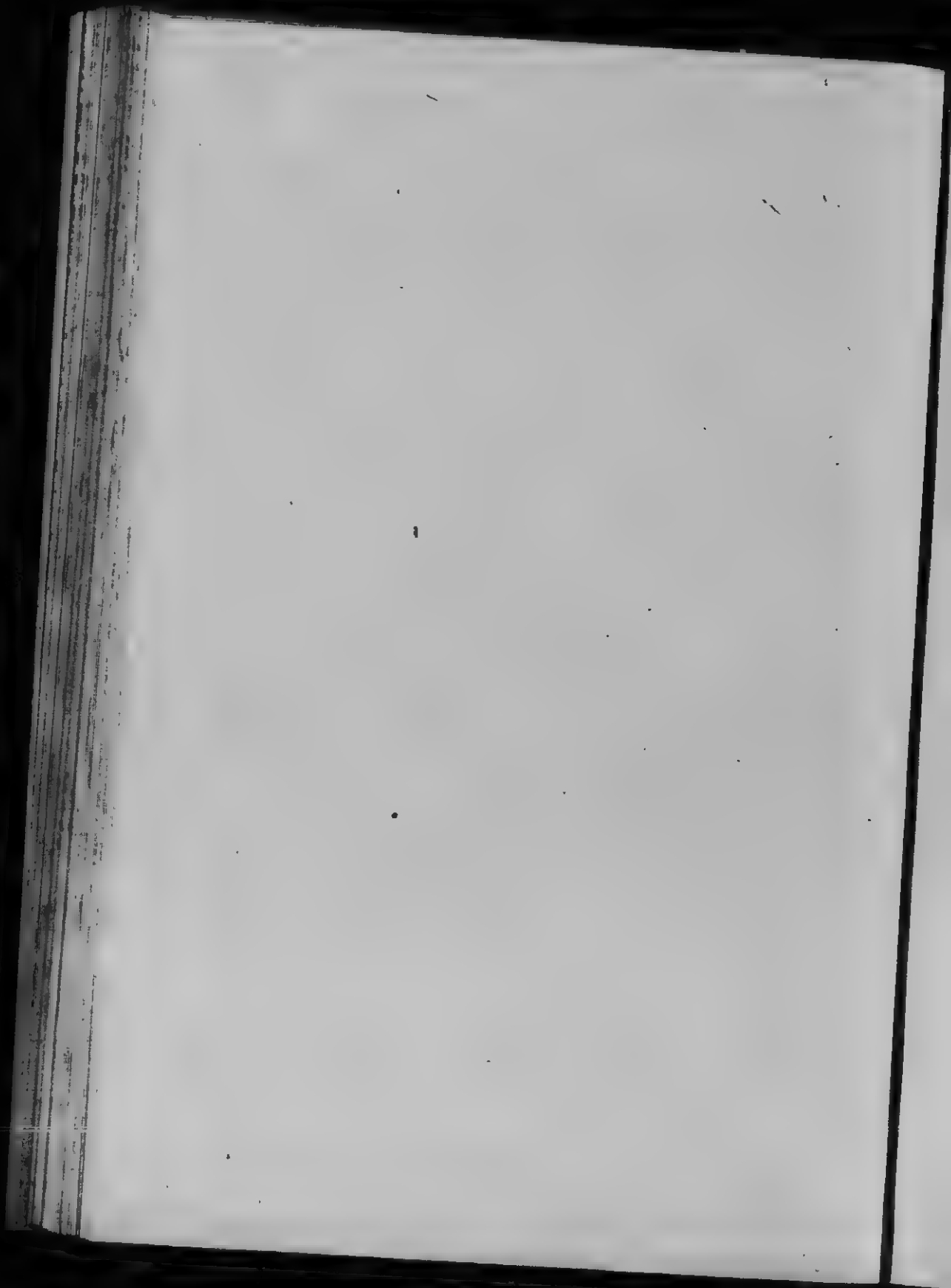


**KINGDOMS
of the
SUCCESSORS of ALEXANDER**

C. B. C. 300.

Boundaries of Ptolemy





monarchies arose out of the ruins. After the rearrangement of boundaries that followed the decisive battle of Ipsus (fought in Phrygia 301 B.C.), these principal states had the outlines shown by the accompanying map. Their rulers were Lysimachus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy, and Cassander, who had each assumed the title of king. The great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.¹

Lysimachus held Thrace and the western part of Asia Minor; Seleucus Nicator, Syria and the countries eastward to the Indus; Ptolemy ruled Egypt; and Cassander governed Macedonia, and claimed authority over Greece.²

After barely mentioning the fate of the kingdom of Lysimachus, we will trace very briefly the fortunes of the other three monarchies until they were overthrown, one after the other, by the now rapidly rising power of Rome.

Thrace, or the Kingdom of Lysimachus.—The kingdom of Lysimachus soon disappeared. He was defeated by Seleucus in the year 281 B.C., and his dominions were divided. The lands in Asia Minor were joined to the Syrian kingdom, while Thrace was absorbed by Macedonia.

Syria, or the Kingdom of the Seleucids (312–65 B.C.).—This kingdom, during the two centuries and more of its existence, played an important part in the civil history of the world. Under its first king it comprised nominally almost all the countries of Asia conquered by Alexander, thus stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus; but in reality the monarchy embraced only Asia Minor, Syria, and the old Assyria and Babylonia. Its rulers were called Seleucids, from the founder of the kingdom, Seleucus Nicator.

Seleucus Nicator (312–280 B.C.), besides being a ruler of unusual ability, was a most liberal patron of learning and art. He is declared to have been "the greatest founder of cities that ever

¹ Dan. viii. 8.

² Cassander never secured complete control of Greece, hence this country is not included in his domains as these appear upon the map.

lived." Throughout his dominions he founded a vast number, some of which endured for many centuries, and were known far and wide as centres of trade and Hellenistic civilization.

Upon the Tigris, as a rival to Babylon, he built Seleucia, which grew rapidly into a capital of six hundred thousand inhabitants. In its customs, manners, and government, it was essentially a Greek city transplanted from Europe. As Seleucia rose, Babylon sank into obscurity, and soon disappeared from history. Six other cities in different parts of his empire bore the name Seleucia, after himself; sixteen he called Antioch, in honor of his father; five he named Laodicea, for his mother; still others bore the name Apamea, in honor of one of his wives. Antioch, on the Orontes, in Northern Syria, became, after Seleucia on the Tigris, the capital of the kingdom, and obtained an influence and renown as a centre of population and trade which have given its name a sure place in history.¹

This colonization of Western Asia by Greeks was, as has already been remarked, one of the most noteworthy results of the Græco-Macedonian conquest. The founding of all these cities, however, as the historian Ranke observes, "must not be reckoned solely to the credit of Seleucus and Alexander. Their origin was closely connected with the main tendencies of Greek colonization. The Greeks had struggled long and often to penetrate into Asia, but so long as the Persian empire remained supreme they were energetically repulsed, and it was only as mercenaries that they found admittance. This bar was now removed. Released from all restrictions and attracted by the revolution in politics, the Greeks now streamed into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt."

The successors of Seleucus Nicator led the kingdom through checkered fortunes. On different sides provinces fell away and

¹ Antioch still remains; but most of the other cities are gone, with scarcely a trace left of their former existence. Thus the site of the great capital Seleucia, once the rival of Babylon, is now marked by just a few mounds and heaps of rubbish.

became independent states.¹ Antiochus III. (223-187 B.C.), called "the Great," raised the kingdom for a short time into great prominence; but attempting to make conquests in Europe, and further giving asylum to the Carthaginian general Hannibal, he incurred the fatal hostility of Rome. Quickly driven by the Roman legions across the Hellespont, he was hopelessly defeated at the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), and a large part of Asia Minor fell into the hands of the Romans, who gave the most of it to their friend and ally Eumenes II., king of Pergamus (see note below). After the battle of Magnesia the Syrian kingdom was of very little importance in the world's affairs.

Antiochus IV., Epiphanes (176-164 B.C.), by the pillage and desecration of the temple at Jerusalem, drove the Jews to successful revolt, under the lead of the heroic family of the Maccabees. Others kept the kingdom in constant contention with the states of Asia Minor on the west, with the Bactrians and Parthians on the east, and with Egypt on the south. At last, brought again into collision with Rome, the country was overrun by Pompey the Great, and became a part of the Roman Republic, 63 B.C.

¹ The most important of these were the following:—

1. **Pergamus.**—This was a state in Western Asia Minor, which became independent upon the death of Seleucus Nicator (280 B.C.). Favored by the Romans, it gradually grew into a powerful kingdom, which at the time of Eumenes II. (197-159 B.C.) embraced a considerable part of Asia Minor. Its capital, also called Pergamus, became a most noted centre of Greek learning and civilization, and through its great library and university gained the renown of being, next to Alexandria in Egypt, the greatest city of the Hellenistic world. In 133 B.C. Attalus III., after killing all his heirs, ended a life which was a perfect tissue of follies by bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people, who immediately took steps to secure the prize, and made it into a province under the name of Asia.

2. **Parthia.**—Parthia was a powerful Turanian state that grew up east of the Euphrates, in the lands that formed the heart and centre of the old Persian Empire (from about 255 B.C. to 226 A.D.). Its kings were at first formidable enemies of the rulers of Syria, and later of the Romans, whom they never allowed to make any considerable conquest beyond the Euphrates.

Kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt (323-30 B.C.). — The Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies was by far the most important, in its influence upon the civilization of the world, of all the kingdoms that owed their origin to the conquests of Alexander. The founder of the house and dynasty was Ptolemy I., surnamed Soter¹ (323-283 B.C.). His descendants ruled in Egypt for nearly three centuries, a most important period in the intellectual life of the world. Ptolemy was a general under Alexander, and seemed to possess much of his ability and restless energy, with a happy freedom from his great commander's faults.

Upon the partition of the empire of Alexander, Ptolemy received Egypt, with parts of Arabia and Libya. To these he added by conquest Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Cyrene, and Cyprus. Following the usage of the time, he transported one hundred thousand Jews from Jerusalem to Alexandria, attached them to his person and policies by wise and conciliatory measures, and thus effected at this great capital of the Nile that blending of the races of the East and the West which was the dream of Alexander.

The possession of the forests of Mount Lebanon, and the command of the artisans of Phœnicia, enabled Ptolemy to realize his plans of making Egypt a naval power, and the emporium of the carrying trade between Asia and Europe. Alexandria became the great depot of exchange for the productions of the world. At the entrance of the harbor stood the Pharos, or light-house, — the first structure of its kind, — which Ptolemy built to guide the fleets of the world to his capital. This edifice was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders.

But it was not alone the exchange of material products that was comprehended in Ptolemy's scheme. His aim was to make his capital the intellectual centre of the world — the place where the arts, sciences, literatures, and even the religions, of the world should meet and mingle. He founded the famous Museum, a sort of college, which became the "University of the East," and established

¹ That is, *deliverer*, a name given him by the Rhodians in gratitude for military aid that he rendered them.

the renowned Alexandrian Library. Poets, artists, philosophers, and teachers in all departments of learning were encouraged to settle in Alexandria by the conferring of immunities and privileges, and by gifts and munificent patronage. His court embraced the learning and genius of the age.

Ptolemy Philadelphus (283-247 B.C.) followed closely in the footsteps of his father, carrying out, as far as possible, the plans and policies of the preceding reign. To secure Egypt's commercial supremacy, the old Pharaonic canal uniting the Nile and the Red Sea was restored, and roads were constructed to facilitate the transportation of merchandise from the ports on that sea to the river. Philadelphus added largely to the royal library, and extended to scholars the same liberal patronage that his father had before him.

The surname Philadelphus (brother-lover) was given this Ptolemy on account of his tender devotion to his wife Arsinoe, who was also his sister. This usage of intermarriage among the members of the royal family — a usage in which the Ptolemies followed what was a custom of the ancient Pharaohs — was one of the causes of the contentions and calamities which at last overwhelmed the house with woes and infamy.

Ptolemy III. (247-222 B.C.) was called by the Egyptians *Euergetes* (benefactor), because in one of his wars — a war against the king of Syria, which led him beyond the Euphrates — he recaptured and placed again in their temples some statues of the Egyptian gods which the Persian conqueror Cambyses and the Assyrian Sargon had borne away as trophies. He was possessed of great military genius, and under him the dominions of the Ptolemies touched their widest limits; while the capital Alexandria reached the culminating point in her fame as the centre of Greek civilization.

Altogether the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt almost exactly three centuries (323-30 B.C.). Those rulers who held the throne for the last two hundred years were, with few exceptions, a succession of monsters, such as even Rome in her worst days could scarcely

equal. These monarchs plunged into the most despicable excesses, and were guilty of every folly and cruelty. The usage of intermarriage, already mentioned, led to endless family quarrels, which resulted in fratricide, matricide, and all the dark deeds included in the calendar of royal crime. The story of the renowned Cleopatra, the last of the house of the Ptolemies, will be told in connection with Roman history, to which it properly belongs.

Macedonia and Greece. — From the time of the subjection of Greece by Philip and Alexander to the absorption of Macedonia into the growing dominions of Rome, the Greek cities of the peninsula were very much under the control or influence of the Macedonian kings. But the Greeks were never made for royal subjects, and consequently they were in a state of chronic revolt against this foreign authority.

Thus, no sooner had they heard of the death of Alexander than several of the Grecian states arose against the Macedonian general Antipater, and carried on with him what is known as the Lamian War¹ (323-321 B.C.). The struggle ended disastrously for the Greeks, and Demosthenes, who had been the soul of the movement, was forced to flee from Athens. He took refuge upon an island just off the coast of the Peloponnesus; but being still hunted by Antipater, he put an end to his own life by means of poison.

The next matter of moment in the history of Macedonia was an invasion of the Gauls (Celtic tribes from Scythia), under the lead of Brennus (279 B.C.). Both Macedonia and Greece suffered terribly from these savage marauders. Being driven from Europe, the barbarians finally settled in Asia Minor, and there gave name to the province of Galatia.

Macedonia now comes in contact with a new enemy — the great military republic of the West. For lending aid to Carthage in the second Punic War, she incurred the anger of Rome, which resulted, after much intrigue and hard fighting, in the country's being brought

¹ From the city of Lamia in Thessaly, where Antipater was besieged by the Greeks.

into subjection to the Italian power. In the year 146 B.C. it was erected into a Roman province.

The political affairs of Greece proper during the period we are considering were chiefly comprehended in the fortunes of two confederacies, or leagues, one of which, called the Achæan League, embraced finally all the states of the Peloponnesus,¹ as well as some cities outside its limits; while the other, known as the Ætolian League, comprised many of the states north of the Corinthian Gulf.²

United, these two confederacies might have maintained the political independence of Greece; but that spirit of dissension which we have seen to be the bane of the Hellenic peoples led them to become, in the hands of intriguing Rome, weapons first for crushing Macedonia, and then for grinding each other to pieces.

Soon after the conquest of Macedonia, the Ætoliæ were made tributary to Rome. At the same time, a thousand of the leading citizens of the cities of the Achæan League were, on the pretext of their conspiring against Rome, transported to Italy, and for seventeen years kept as political prisoners in the different cities of Etruria. At the end of that time the surviving exiles were allowed to return home, the perfidious Romans foreseeing and hoping that their desire for revenge would betray them into some violent act which would afford Rome a pretext for invading and confiscating their territory. All fell out as anticipated. The exiles were no sooner returned to their native land than they stirred up their countrymen to revolt against Rome. Corinth, which, since the Peloponnesian War had ruined Athens, was the most splendid city

¹ Sparta was not a member of the League at first, but its jealous and bitter enemy. The Spartan king Cleomenes waged with the confederated states what is known as the *Cleomenic War* (224-221 B.C.). The League sought and obtained aid of Macedonia, and Sparta was defeated.

² For a study of these confederations consult Freeman's valuable work entitled *History of Federal Constitutions*.

of all Greece, was taken by the Roman army and laid in ashes (146 B.C.). This was the last act in the long and varied drama of the political life of ancient Greece. Henceforth it constituted simply a portion of the Roman Empire.

Review. — We have now traced the political fortunes of the Hellenic race through about seven centuries of authentic history. Starting with the institutions of the primitive Greek communities, we have followed the early growth of the leading Grecian states, and have watched their memorable struggle with the power of the Persian kings; we have noticed the brilliant era of Athenian supremacy which followed that contest; we have seen the terrible calamities finally brought by the mutual jealousies of the two rival states of Athens and Sparta, not only upon themselves, but upon all Hellas; then, after brief periods of Spartan and Theban supremacy, we have seen Macedonia assume the leadership of the Greek race, unite half the world in a single kingdom under an Alexander, and spread Hellenic ideas, institutions, and language from Italy to the regions beyond the Indus; we have also seen this enormous Macedonian empire, through the rivalries of ambitious generals and through lack of that capacity to unite for political ends which was the fatal defect of the Greek character, torn into pieces, and these fragments, after more or less varied political fortunes, seized upon one after another by the rapacity of Rome.

In succeeding chapters it will be our pleasanter task to trace the more brilliant and worthy fortunes of the artistic and intellectual life of Hellas: to portray, though necessarily in scanty outline, the achievements of that wonderful genius which enabled her, "captured, to lead captive her captor."

RULERS OF THE KINGDOM OF THE SELEUCIDÆ.

	B.C.
Seleucus I., Nicator, founder of the kingdom	312-281
Antiochus I., Soter	281-261
Antiochus II., Theos	261-246
Seleucus II.	246-226
Seleucus III., Ceraunus	226-223
Antiochus III., the Great	223-187
Seleucus IV., Philopator	187-176
Antiochus IV., Epiphanes (revolt of the Jews under Judas Macca- beus)	176-164
Antiochus V., Eupator	164-162
Several obscure names	162-69
Antiochus VIII., last of the Seleucidæ	69-65

RULERS OF THE GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN KINGDOM OF THE
PTOLEMIES.

	B.C.
Ptolemy I., Soter	323-283
Ptolemy II., Philadelphus	283-247
Ptolemy III., Euergetes	247-222
Ptolemy IV.	222-205
Ptolemy V.	205-181
Ptolemy VI.	181-146
Several obscure names	146-51
Cleopatra, last of the line	51-30
Egypt becomes a part of the Roman Empire	30

CHAPTER X.

GREEK ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

The Greek Sense of Beauty. — The Greeks were artists by nature. They possessed an organization that was most exquisitely sensitive to impressions of the beautiful. As it has been expressed, "ugliness gave them pain like a blow." Everything they made, from the shrines for their gods to the meanest utensils of domestic use, was beautiful. Beauty they placed next to holiness; indeed, they almost or quite made beauty and moral right the same thing. It is said that it was noted by the Greeks as something strange and exceptional that Socrates was good, notwithstanding he was ugly in feature.

The first maxim in Greek art was the same as that which formed the first principle in Greek morality — "Nothing in excess." The Greek eye was offended at any exaggeration of parts, at any lack of symmetry or proportion in an object. The proportions of the Greek temple are perfect. Any deviations from the measurements or canons of the Greek artists are found to be departures from the ideal.

Clearness of outline was another requirement of Greek taste. The artistic Greek had a positive dislike of all vagueness or indistinctness of form. Contrast the clear-cut lines of a Greek temple with the vague, ever-vanishing lines of a Mediæval Gothic cathedral.

It is possible that Nature herself taught the Greeks these first principles of their art. Nature in Greece never goes to extremes. The Grecian mountains and islands are never over-large. The climate is never excessively cold nor oppressively hot. And

Nature here seems to abhor vagueness. The singular transparency of the atmosphere, especially that of Attica, lends a remarkable clearness of outline to every object. The Parthenon in its clear-cut features seems modelled after the hills that lie with such absolute clearness of form against the Attic sky.

II. ARCHITECTURE.

Pelasgian Architecture. — The term Pelasgian is applied to various structures of massive masonry — walls, tombs, and subterranean aqueducts — found in different parts of Greece, Italy, and Asia Minor. The origin of these works was a mystery to the earliest Hellenes, who ascribed them to the giant Cyclops; hence the name Cyclopean that also attaches to them.

These works exhibit three well-defined stages of development. In the earliest and rudest structures the stones are gigantic in size and untouched by the chisel; in the next oldest the stones are



PELASGIAN MASONRY.

worked into irregular polygonal blocks; while in the latest the blocks are cut into rectangular shapes and laid in regular courses. The walls of the old citadels or castles of several Grecian cities exhibit specimens of this primitive architecture. The celebrated so-called Treasury of Atreus, a subterranean vaulted structure at

Mycenæ, is a noted example of the latest form of Pelægian art. The best specimen of the oldest form is found at Tiryns, near Mycenæ.

First Grecian Temples. — In the earliest times the Greeks had no temples, save the forests. The statues of the gods were first placed beneath the shelter of a tree, or within its hollow trunk. After a time, a building rudely constructed of the trunks of trees and shaped like the habitations of men, marked the first step in advance. Then stone took the place of the wooden frame. With the introduction of a durable material, the artist was encouraged to expend more labor and care upon his work. Thus architecture began to make rapid strides, and by the century following the age of Solon at Athens there were many beautiful temples in different parts of the Hellenic world.

Orders of Architecture. — Before speaking of the most noted temples of Hellas, we must first name the three styles, or orders,



DORIC CAPITAL.



IONIC CAPITAL.

of Grecian architecture. These are the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian. They are distinguished from one another chiefly by differences in the proportions and ornamentation of the column.

The Doric column is without a base, and has a simple and massive capital. The prototype of this order may be seen at Beni-Hassan, in Egypt. At first the Doric temples of the Greeks were almost as massive as the Egyptian temples, but later they became more refined.

The Ionic column is characterized by the spiral volutes of the capital. This form was borrowed from the Assyrians, and was principally employed by the Greeks of Ionia, whence its name.

The Corinthian order is distinguished by its rich capital, formed of acanthus leaves. This type is made up of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Grecian elements. The bell shape of the capital is in imitation of the Egyptian style. The addition of the acanthus leaves is said to have been suggested to the artist Callimachus by the pretty

effect of a basket surrounded by the leaves of an acanthus plant, upon which it had accidentally fallen. This order was not much employed in Greece before the time of Alexander the Great.



CORINTHIAN CAPITAL.

The entire structure was made to harmonize with its supporting columns. The general characteristics of the several orders are well portrayed by the terms we use when we speak of the "stern" Doric, the "graceful" Ionic, and the "ornate" Corinthian.

Temple of Diana at Ephesus. — The temple of Diana at Ephesus was one of the oldest, as well as one of the most famous, of the sacred edifices of the Greeks. The original structure was commenced about the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and, according to Pliny, was one hundred and twenty years in process of building. Croesus gave liberally of his wealth to ornament the shrine. It was known far and wide as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

In the year 356 B.C., on the same night, it is said, that Alexander was born, an ambitious youth, named Herostratus, fired the building, simply to immortalize his name. The roof of the struc-

TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHESUS

ture was of cedar, and this, probably, was the only part destroyed. It was restored with even greater splendor than at first. Alexander coveted the honor of rebuilding the temple, and proposed to the Ephesians to do so, provided that he be allowed to inscribe his name upon it. The Ephesians gracefully declined the proposal by replying that it was not right for one deity to erect a temple to another.¹ Alexander was obliged to content himself with placing within the shrine his own portrait by Apelles — a piece of work which cost \$30,000. The value of the gifts to the temple was beyond all calculation: kings and states vied with one another in splendid donations. Painters and sculptors were eager to have their masterpieces assigned a place within its walls, so that it became a great national gallery of paintings and statuary.

So inviolable was the sanctity of the temple that at all times, and especially in times of tumult and danger, property and treasures were carried to it as a safe repository.² But the riches of the sanctuary proved too great a temptation to the Roman emperor

¹ Alexander, it appears, made a similar offer to the priests of the temple of Athena Polias at Priene, a city of Caria, for a tablet has been found upon which Alexander's name is engraved as dedicator. The slab may be seen in the British Museum.

² The Grecian temples were, in a certain sense, banks of deposit. They contained special chambers or vaults for the safe-keeping of valuables. The heaps of gold and silver relics discovered by Di Cesnola at Sunium, in the island of Cyprus, were found in the secret subterranean vaults of a great temple. The priests often loaned out on interest the money deposited with them, the revenue from this source being added to that from the leased lands of the temple and from the tithes of war booty, to meet the expenses of the services of the shrine. We may liken the wealth of the ancient temples to that of the Medieval churches. "The gods were the wealthiest capitalists." Usually the temple property in Greece was managed solely by the priests; but the treasure of the Parthenon at Athens formed an exception to this rule. The treasure here belonged to the State, and was controlled and disposed of by the vote of the people. Even the personal property of the goddess, the gold drapery of the statue (see p. 145), which was worth about \$600,000, could be used in case of great need, but it must be replaced in due time, with a fair interest.

Nero. He risked incurring the anger of the great *Diana*, and robbed the temple of many statues and a vast amount of gold. Later (in 262 A.D.), the barbarian Goths enriched themselves with the spoils of the shrine. The temple itself fared but little better than the treasures it guarded. The Goths left it a ruin; and long after, some of the celebrated jasper columns were, by order of the emperor Justinian, carried to Byzantium, and there at this day uphold the dome of St. Sophia, once the most noted church, now the most famous mosque, in all the East. Other columns from this ruin were taken to Italy and built into Christian churches there.¹

The Delphian Temple. — The first temple erected at Delphi over the spot whence issued the mysterious vapors was a rude wooden structure. In the year 548 B.C., the temple then standing was destroyed by fire. All the cities and states of Hellas contributed to its rebuilding. Even the king of Egypt, Amasis, sent a munificent gift. More than half a million of dollars was collected; for the temple was to exceed in magnificence anything the world had yet seen. It will be recalled that the Athenian Alcmeonidae were the contractors who undertook the rebuilding of the shrine (see p. 55).

The structure was impressive both in its colossal size and the massive simplicity that characterizes the Doric style of architecture. It was crowded with the spoils of many battle-fields, with the rich gifts of kings, and with rare works of art. Like the temple at Ephesus, the Delphian shrine, after remaining for many years secure, through the awe and reverence which its oracle inspired, suffered frequent spoliation. The greed of conquerors overcame all religious scruples. The Phocians robbed the temple of a treasure equivalent, it is estimated, to more than \$10,000,000 with us (see p. 109); and Nero plundered it of five hundred bronze images. But Constantine (emperor of Rome 306–337 A.D., and founder of Constantinople) was the Nebuchadnezzar who bore off

¹ The site of the temple was for many centuries lost; but in 1871, Mr. Wood, an excavator, uncovered portions of its ancient pavement, and brought to light fragments of sculpture, which may now be seen in the British Museum.

the sacred vessels and many statues as trophies to his new capital then rising on the Hellespont.

The Athenian Acropolis and the Parthenon. — In the history of art there is no other spot in the world possessed of such interest as the flat-topped rock, already described, which constituted the Athenian Acropolis. We have seen that in early times the eminence was used as a stronghold. But by the fifth century B.C. the city had slipped down upon the plain, and the summit of the rock was consecrated to the temples and the worship of the deities, and came to be called "the city of the gods." During the period of Athenian supremacy, especially in the Periclean Age, Hellenic



ATHENIAN YOUTH IN PROCESSION. (From the Frieze of the Parthenon.)

genius and piety adorned this spot with temples and statues that all the world has pronounced to be faultless specimens of beauty and taste.

The most celebrated of the buildings upon the Acropolis was the Parthenon, the "Residence of the virgin-goddess Athena." This is considered the finest specimen of Greek architecture. It was designed by the architect Ictinus, but the sculptures that adorned it were the work of the celebrated Phidias.¹ It was built in the

¹ The subject of the wonderful frieze running round the temple was the procession which formed the most important feature of the Athenian festival known as the Greater Panathenaea, which was celebrated every four years in



THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS. (Restored by G. Rehlender.)

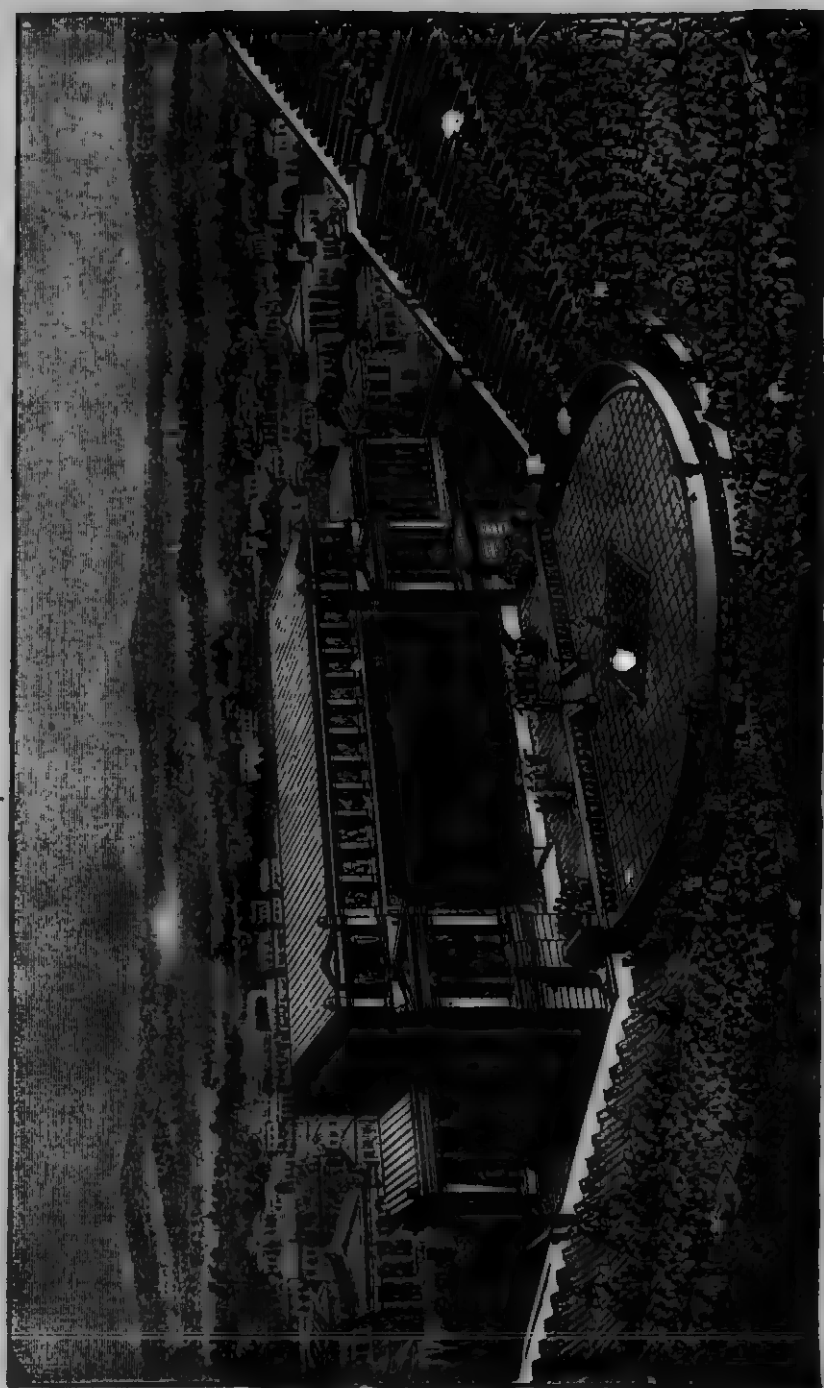
THE MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSUS.

Doric order, of marble from the neighboring Pentelicus. After standing for more than two thousand years, and having served successively as a Pagan temple, a Christian church, and a Mohammedan mosque, it finally was made to serve as a Turkish powder-magazine, in a war with the Venetians, in 1687. During the progress of this contest a bomb fired the magazine, and more than half of this masterpiece of ancient art was shivered into fragments. The front is still quite perfect, and is the most prominent feature of the Acropolis at the present time.



THE PARTHENON (present condition).

The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. — This structure was another of the Seven Wonders of the World. It was a monumental tomb designed to preserve the memory of Mausolus, king of Caria, who died 352 B.C. Its erection was prompted by the love and grief of his wife Artemisia. The combined genius of the most noted artists of the age, among whom was the renowned sculptor Scopas, ex-honor of the patron-goddess of Athens. The larger part of the frieze is now in the British Museum, the Parthenon having been despoiled of its coronal of sculptures by Lord Elgin. Read Lord Byron's *The Curse of Minerva*. To the poet, Lord Elgin's act appeared worse than vandalism.

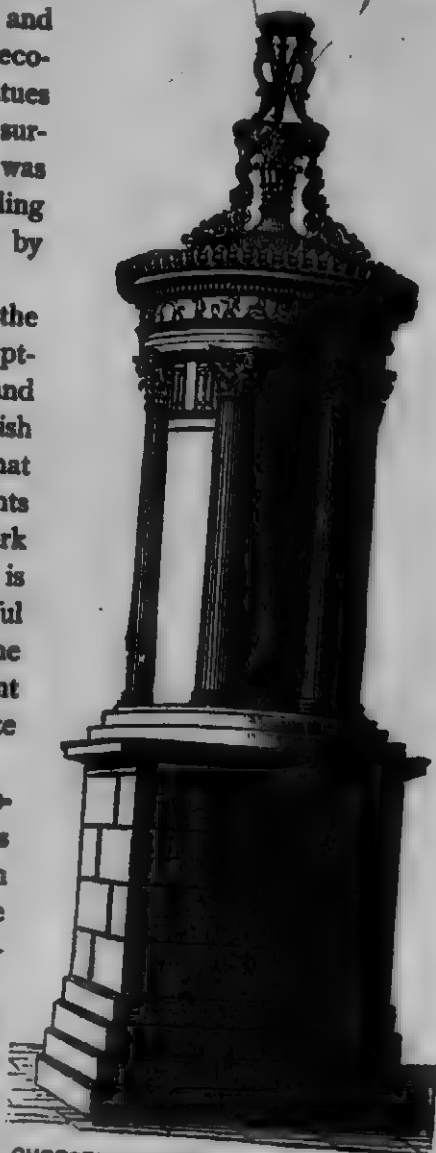


THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS (A reconstruction.)

cuted the wish of the queen. From a base about one hundred feet square the monument rose to a height of one hundred and forty feet. Its sides were decorated with a multitude of statues and figures in relief; while surmounting the monument was the statue of Mausolus, standing in a marble chariot drawn by four horses.

The chief remains of the Mausoleum are numerous sculptures dug up on the site, and now preserved in the British Museum. These assure us that the admiration of the ancients was not accorded to this work without sufficient reason. It is the traditions of this beautiful structure that have given the world a name for all magnificent monuments raised to perpetuate the memory of the dead.

Theatres and Other Structures. — The Greek theatre was semi-circular in form, and open to the sky, as shown in the accompanying cut. The structure comprised three divisions: first, the semi-circle of seats for the spectators; second, the orchestra, or dancing-place for the chorus, which embraced the space between the lower range of seats and the stage; and third, the stage, a narrow platform for the actors.



CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICHATES.

The most noted of Greek theatres was the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, which was the model of all the others. It was partly cut in the rock on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, the Greeks in the construction of their theatres generally taking advantage of a hillside. There were about one hundred rows of seats, the lowest one, bordering the orchestra, consisting of sixty-seven marble arm-chairs. These were brought to light by excavations made in the year 1862. The structure would hold thirty thousand spectators.

Among commemorative edifices raised in honor of the living, the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, at Athens, known also as the Lantern of Diogenes, is regarded as the most beautiful. The structure is only thirty-four feet high. It is of the Corinthian order of architecture, and was intended to commemorate the victory won in 334 B.C. by Lysicrates, the leader (Choragus) of a chorus (see p. 201).

There are no specimens preserved to us of the domestic or palatial architecture of the Greeks.

III. SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

Progress in Sculpture: Influence of the Gymnastic Art.—The subjects of the Grecian artists were usually taken from the sacred myths and legends. Wood was the material first employed. About the eighth century B.C. bronze and marble were generally substituted for the less durable material. With this change sculpture began to make rapid progress.

Another circumstance aided the development of the art. It became usual to commemorate victories at the national games by statues of the victor. The grounds about the temple at Olympia became crowded with "a band of chosen youth in imperishable forms." Now, in representing the figures of the gods, it was thought, if not impious, at least presumptuous, to change a single line or lineament of the conventional form; and thus a certain

Egyptian rigidity was imparted to all the productions of the artist. Any material change subjected him to the charge of sacrilege. But in the representation of the forms of mere men, the sculptor was bound by no conventionalism, being perfectly free to exercise his skill and genius in handling his subject. Progress and improvement now became possible.

But what exerted the most positive influence upon Greek sculpture was the gymnastic art. The exercises of the gymnasium and the contests of the sacred games afforded the artist unrivalled opportunities for the study of the human form. "The whole race," as Symonds says, "lived out its sculpture and its painting, rehearsed, as it were, the great works of Phidias and Polygnotus, in physical exercises, before it learned to express itself in marble or in color."

As the sacred buildings increased in number and costliness, the services of the artist were called into requisition for their adornment. At first the temple held only the statue of the god ; but after a time it became, as we have already seen, a sort of national museum — a repository of the artistic treasures of the state. The entablature, the pediments, the intercolumniations of the building, and every niche of the interior of the shrine, as well as the surrounding grounds and groves, were peopled with statues and groups of figures, executed by the most renowned artists, and representing the national deities, the legendary heroes, victors at



PITCHING THE DISCUS, OR QUOIT.
(Discobolus.)

the public games, or incidents in the life of the state in which piety saw the special interposition of the god in whose honor the shrine had been reared.

Phidias. — Among all the great sculptors of antiquity, Phidias stands pre-eminent. He was an Athenian, and was born about 488 B.C. He delighted in the beautiful myths and legends of the Heroic Age, and from these he drew subjects for his art.

Phidias being an architect as well as sculptor, his patron Pericles gave into his hands the superintendence of those magnificent buildings with which he persuaded the Athenians to adorn their city. It was his genius that created the wonderful figures of the pediments and the frieze of the Parthenon.

The most celebrated of his colossal sculptures were the statue of Athena within the Parthenon, and that of Olympian Zeus in the temple at Olympia. The statue of Athena was of gigantic size, being about forty feet in height, and was constructed of ivory and gold, the hair, weapons, and drapery being of the latter material. One hand of the goddess rested upon a richly-carved shield, while the other held aloft an ivory statue of Victory, itself a masterpiece. On her feet were golden sandals.

The statue of Olympian Zeus



ATHENA PARTHENOS. (After a statue found at Athens in 1890, which is supposed to be a copy of the colossal statue of Athena by Phidias, described in the text.)

was also of ivory and gold. It was sixty feet high, and represented the god seated on his throne. The hair, beard, and drapery were of gold. The eyes were brilliant stones. Gems of great value decked the throne, and figures of exquisite design were sculptured on the golden robe. The colossal proportions of this wonderful work, as well as the lofty yet benign aspect of the countenance, harmonized well with the popular conception of the majesty and grace of the "father of gods and men." It was thought a great misfortune to die without having seen the Olympian Zeus.¹ The statue was in existence for eight hundred years, being finally destroyed by fire in the fifth century A.D.

Phidias also executed other works in both bronze and marble. He met an unworthy fate. First he was accused of having stolen a part of the gold put in his hands for the statue of Athena in the Parthenon. This charge was disproved by the golden drapery being taken from the statue and weighed. Then he was prosecuted on another charge. Upon the famous shield at the feet of the statue of Athena in the Par-



HEAD OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS BY PHIDIAS.

¹ "Phidias avowed that he took his idea from the representation which Homer gives in the first book of the *Iliad* in the passage thus translated by Pope:—

'He spake, and awful bends his sable brow,
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
The stamp of fate and sanction of the god.
High heaven with reverence the dread signal took,
And all Olympus to the centre shook.'"

BULFINCH'S *Age of Fable*, p. 404.

When Phidias had finished his work, so tradition tells, he prayed Zeus to give a token if the statue pleased him. Straightway a thunderbolt from heaven fell upon the temple floor, by which sign Phidias knew that his work was accepted.

thenon, among the figures in the representation of a battle between the Athenians and the Amazons, Phidias introduced a portrait of himself and also one of his patron Pericles. That of himself was the figure of a "bald old man" just in the act of hurling a huge rock. The enemies of the artist, prompted by jealousy, caused him to be prosecuted for his presumption, which was considered an act of sacrilege. He died in prison (432 B.C.).

Polycletus.—At the same time that Phidias was executing his ideal representations of the gods, Polycletus the elder, whose home was at Argos, was producing his renowned bronze statues of athletes. Among his pieces was one representing a spear-bearer, which was regarded as so perfect as to be known as "the Rule."

Polycletus also executed some statues of gods and heroes, among which his "Hera" is celebrated; in this field, however, his fame was eclipsed by that of Phidias.

Praxiteles.—This artist, after Polycletus, stands next to Phidias as one of the most eminent of Greek sculptors. His works were executed during the fourth century B.C. Among his chief pieces may be mentioned the "Cnidian Aphrodite," the "Satyr," "Eros," and "Hermes." The first of these, which stood in the Temple of Aphrodite at Cnidus, was regarded by the ancients as the most perfect embodiment of the goddess of beauty. Long pilgrimages were made from distant countries to Cnidus for the sake of looking upon the matchless statue. Many copies were set up in different cities. About two centuries ago, excavations at Rome brought to light a beautiful statue, supposed to be a copy of the original Cnidian Aphrodite, by Cleomenes, who lived during the first or second century B.C. This is the so-called "Venus de' Medici," copies of which are in all our homes. The name comes from the circumstance of the statue having been kept for some time after its discovery in the palace of the Medici at Rome.

To Praxiteles is also sometimes ascribed the celebrated group representing the Niobe myth. (By some this work is attributed to Scopas, one of the sculptors of the figures of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.) The original work, which was transported from



INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA.
(Reconstructed by G. Rohlfender.)

Asia Minor to Rome probably about 35 B.C., has perished; the well-known group at Florence is a Roman copy.

Lysippus. — This artist, a native of Sicyon, is renowned for his works in bronze. He flourished about the middle of the fourth century B.C. His statues were in great demand. More than six hundred pieces of his work were to be counted in the different cities of Hellas. Many of these were of colossal size. Alexander gave the artist many orders for statues of himself, and also of the heroes that fell in his campaigns.

Chares and the Rhodian Colossus. — Lysippus, like all men of great genius in any art or science, had many disciples and left many imitators. The most noted of his pupils was Chares, who gave the world the celebrated Colossus at Rhodes (about 280 B.C.). This was another of the Seven Wonders of the World. Its height was one hundred and seven feet, and a man could barely encircle with his arms the thumb of the statue. The expense of its erection (about \$500,000) was met by the sale of spoils obtained by the Rhodians in war. After standing little more than half a century, it was overthrown by an earthquake. For nine hundred years the Colossus then lay, like a Homeric god, prone upon the ground. Finally, the Arabs, having overrun this part of the Orient (A.D. 672), appropriated the statue, and thriftily sold it to a Jewish merchant. It is said that it required a train of nine hundred camels to bear away the bronze.

This gigantic piece of statuary was not a solitary one at Rhodes; for that city, next after Athens, was the great art centre of the Grecian world. Its streets and gardens and public edifices were literally crowded with statues. Hundreds met the eye on every hand. The island became the favorite resort of artists, and the various schools there founded acquired a wide renown. Very many of the most prized works of Grecian art in our modern museums were executed by members of these Rhodian schools. The "Laocoön Group," found at Rome in 1506, and now in the Museum of the Vatican, is generally thought to be the work of three Rhodian sculptors — Agesander, Athenodorus, and Polydo-

rus. The order for the work was probably given by the Roman emperor Titus (A.D. 79-81), as the group adorned his palace on one of the hills of Rome.



THE LAOCOÖN GROUP.

Greek Painting. — Although the Greek artists attained a high degree of excellence in painting, still they never brought the art to that perfection which they reached in sculpture. One reason for this less perfect development of the art was that paintings were

never, like statues, objects of adoration; hence less attention was directed to them.¹

With the exception of antique vases and a few patches of mural decoration, all specimens of Greek painting have perished. Not a single work of any great painter of antiquity has survived the accidents of time. Consequently our knowledge of Greek painting is derived chiefly from the descriptions of renowned works, by the ancient writers, and their anecdotes of great painters. These classical stories are always epigrams of criticism, and thus possess a technical as well as literary and historical value. For this reason, we shall repeat some of them.

Polygnotus. — Polygnotus (flourished 475–455 B.C.) has been called the Prometheus of painting, because he was the first to give fire and animation to the expression of the countenance. "In his hand," it is affirmed, "the human features became for the first time the mirror of the soul." Of a Polyxena,² painted by this great master, it was said that "she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War."

The Athenians conferred upon Polygnotus the rights of citizenship, and he out of gratitude painted upon the walls of some of their public buildings the grandest frescoes the world had ever looked upon. The fall of Ilium and the battle of Marathon were among the subjects he represented.

Zeuxis and Parrhasius. — These great artists lived and painted about 400 B.C. A favorite and familiar story preserves their names as companions, and commemorates their rival genius. Zeuxis, such is the story, painted a cluster of grapes which so closely imitated the real fruit that the birds pecked at them. His rival, for his piece, painted a curtain. Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to draw aside the veil and exhibit his picture. "I confess I am surpassed,"

¹The influence of religion upon art is illustrated by the Italian Renaissance, when painting entered the service of the Church. See MYERS' *Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 343, 346.

²Polyxena was a daughter of the Trojan Priam, famous for her beauty and sufferings. She was sacrificed as an atonement to the shades of Achilles.

generously admitted Zeuxis to his rival. "I deceived birds, but you have deceived the eyes of an experienced artist."

Zeuxis executed orders for paintings for sacred buildings in Greece and Italy, for his fame was not confined to a single land. In his latter years he refused all remuneration for his pieces, esteeming them beyond price in money. A very improbable story is told of his having "died with laughter at a picture of an old woman which he himself had painted."

Apelles. — Apelles, who has been called the "Raphael of antiquity," was the court-painter of Alexander the Great. He was such a consummate master of the art of painting, and carried it to such a state of perfection, that the ancient writers spoke of it as the "art of Apelles." His most celebrated painting was a representation of Aphrodite just at the moment the goddess is rising from the sea-fountain. Centuries after the death of Apelles this painting was carried off to Italy by the Roman conquerors, and for a time adorned a temple at Rome, erected in honor of Julius Caesar.

Several well-known stories illustrative of the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries are told of Apelles. Entering one day the studio of the artist Protogenes, and finding him absent, instead of leaving his name, he drew, with his own inimitable grace, a single line upon a canvas, and then withdrew. When Protogenes returned, and his eye caught the line, he exclaimed that no hand but that of Apelles ever drew such a stroke. But in attempting to imitate it, he perceived that he had himself surpassed it; and, with a natural pride in his success, he instructed his servant, upon the return of the stranger, to direct his attention to the line. Calling a second time, Apelles was shown what his rival had done. Thereupon he drew a third line that far surpassed either of the other two. Upon beholding it, Protogenes rushed forth into the city in search of Apelles, for whom he ever after evinced the warmest friendship, combined with the greatest admiration.

A second tale is told respecting a contest between Apelles and some rival artists, in which horses were the objects represented.

Perceiving that the judges were unfriendly to him, and partial, Apelles insisted that less prejudiced judges should pronounce upon the merit of the respective pieces, demanding, at the same time, that the paintings should be shown to some horses that were near. When brought before the pictures of his rival, the horses exhibited no concern; but upon being shown the painting of Apelles, they manifested by neighing and other intelligent signs their instant recognition of the companions the great master had created.

Still another anecdote has given the world one of its best proverbs. A cobbler criticised the shoe-latchet of one of the artist's figures. Apelles, recognizing that what had caught the practised eye of the man was a real defect, straightway amended it. Then the cobbler ventured to offer some criticisms on one of the legs. Thereupon Apelles sharply rebuked him for passing beyond his province, by replying, "Cobbler, keep to your last."

In the hands of Apelles Greek painting attained its highest excellence. After him the art declined, and no other really great name appears.

NOTE. — Excavations carried on, with some intermissions, from 1878 to 1886, upon the Acropolis of the ancient Pergamus, in Asia Minor, resulted in the discovery of a great Altar, and a large number of gigantic sculptures in high relief, which decorated the four sides of the foundation of the structure. The subject of the representation was the Battle of the Giants against the Gods. The Altar is supposed to have been built by King Eumenes II. (197-159 B.C.). The sculptures are now to be seen in the Berlin Museum, though they have not yet been placed in permanent position. Taken as a whole they may, perhaps, in the series of Greek sculptural monuments remaining to us, be given a place second to the Phidian sculptures of the Athenian Parthenon. Consult *Beschreibung der pergamenischen Bildwerke*, official publication of the Berlin Museum.

CHAPTER XI.

GREEK LITERATURE.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

Excellence of Greek Literature. — In literature the Greeks far surpassed every other people of antiquity. The degree of excellence attained by them in poetry, in oratory, and in history has scarcely been surpassed by any modern people or race. Here, as in art, they are still the teachers of the world.

The Greeks as Literary Artists. — It was that same exquisite sense of fitness and proportion and beauty which made the Greeks artists in marble that also made them artists in Language. "Of all the beautiful things which they created," says Professor Jebb, "their own language was the most beautiful." This language they wrought into epics and lyrics and dramas and histories and orations, as incomparable in form and beauty as their temples and statues. The excellences of Greek literature — fitness, symmetry, proportion, clearness of outline — are the same as those that characterize Greek art.

Even the Greek philosophers arranged and expressed their ideas and speculations with such regard to the rules of literary art, that many of their productions are fairly entitled to a place in literature proper. Especially is this true of the earlier Greek philosophers, who wrote in hexameter verse, and of Plato, in whose works the profoundest speculations are embodied in the most perfect literary form. But as Greek philosophy, viewed as a system of thought, had a development distinct from that of Greek literature proper, we shall deal with it in a separate chapter, contenting ourselves here with merely pointing out the unusually

close connection in ancient Greece between Philosophy and Literature.

Periods of Greek Literature. — Greek literature, for the time covered by our history, is usually divided into three periods, as follows: (1) The Period before 475 B.C.; (2) The Attic or Golden Age (475–300 B.C.); (3) The Alexandrian Age (300–146 B.C.).

The first period gave birth to epic and lyric poetry; the second, to history, oratory, and above all to dramatic literature; while the third period was one of decline, during which the productions of the preceding epochs were worked over and commented upon, or feebly imitated. Occasionally, however, a gleam of real genius brings back for a moment the splendors of the departing day.

II. THE PERIOD BEFORE 475 B.C.

The Homeric Poems. — The earliest specimens of Greek poetry are the so-called "Homeric poems," consisting of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The subject of the *Iliad* is the "Wrath of Achilles," and the woes it brought upon the Greeks who pressed the siege of Ilios or Troy. The *Odyssey* tells of the long wanderings of the hero Odysseus (Ulysses) up and down over many seas while seeking his native Ithaca, after the downfall of Ilios.

The first poem, which is by far the superior of the two, must be pronounced "the masterpiece of Greek literature; perhaps of all literatures." Before being committed to writing, it had probably been preserved and transmitted orally for several generations. It has been translated into all languages, and has been read with an ever fresh interest by generation after generation for nearly three thousand years. Alexander, it is told, slept with a copy beneath his pillow, — a copy prepared especially for him by his preceptor Aristotle, and called the "casket edition," from the jewelled box in which Alexander is said to have kept it. We preserve it quite as sacredly in all our courses of classical study.

The age in which the poem was written has been called the Childhood of the World. The work is characterized by the fresh-

ness and vitality of youth. It exerted an incalculable influence upon the literary and religious life of the Hellenic race. It has made warriors as well as poets, for many of its passages are instinct with the martial spirit. It incited the military ambition of Alexander, of Hannibal, and of Cæsar; it inspired Virgil, Dante, and Milton. All epic writers have taken it as their model.

Date and Authorship of the Homeric Poems. — Until the rise of modern German criticism, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were almost



universally ascribed to a single bard named Homer, who was believed to have lived about the middle of the ninth or tenth century B.C., one or two centuries after the events commemorated in his poems. Though tradition represents many cities as contending for the honor of having been his birthplace, still he was generally regarded as a native of Smyrna, in Asia Minor. He travelled widely (so it was believed), lost his sight, and then, as a wandering minstrel, sang his immortal verses to admiring listeners in the different cities of Hellas.

But at the close of the last century (in 1795) the German scholar Wolf, after a critical study of the two Homeric poems, declared that they were not, either of them, the work of a single poet, but that each was made up of a large number of earlier short lays, or ballads. The work of uniting these separate pieces into the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, he believed to have been performed under the direction of the Tyrant Pisistratus (see p. 54).

Wolf's theory opened a great "Battle of the Books." Since his day there has been no lull in the so-called "Homeric controversy." The following are the pretty generally acknowledged results thus far of the great debate: The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as they stand to-day, are not, either of them, the creation of a single poet. They are mosaics; that is, they are built up out of fragments of an extensive ballad literature that grew up in an age preceding the Homeric. The extent, variety, and beauty of this pre-Homeric literature implies a very long period of Hellenic development lying back of the age that produced the Homeric poems.

The *Iliad* is the older of the two poems. It is made up of two epics, the "Wrath of Achilles" and the "Doom of Ilios," the former of which is by far the more archaic. Each of these earlier epics was itself made up of still earlier lays. The "Wrath of Achilles," which forms the nucleus of the *Iliad* as we have it, may, with very great probability, be ascribed to Homer, whom we may believe to have been one, and that the most prominent, of a brotherhood of bards, or rhapsodists, who flourished about 850 or 750 B.C.

The *Odyssey* is probably a century later than the *Iliad*. The unity of the poem is greater than that of the *Iliad*, and it bears so plainly the impression of a single great mind, that we may well believe it to be essentially the work of a single bard, instead of a band, or fraternity, of poets. But the theory of the single authorship of the *Odyssey* does not imply that the entire contents of the poem were the creation of a single mind. Like the *Iliad*, as already affirmed, it was made up of pre-existing lays, or epics, welded together.

The Hesiodic Poems. — Hesiod, who lived a century or more after the age that gave birth to the Homeric poems, was the poet of nature and of real life, especially of peasant life, in the dim transition age of Hellas. The Homeric bards sing of the deeds of heroes, and of a far-away time when gods mingled with men. Hesiod sings of common men, and of every-day, present duties. His greatest poem, a didactic epic, is entitled *Works and Days*. This is, in the main, a sort of farmer's calendar, in which the poet points out to the husbandman the lucky and unlucky days for doing certain kinds of work, gives him minute instructions respecting farm labor, descants upon justice, eulogizes industry, and intersperses among all his practical lines homely maxims of morality and beautiful descriptive passages of the changing seasons. Virgil's *Georgics* was based upon the *Works and Days*.

Another work called the *Theogony* is also usually ascribed to Hesiod. This poem has been well described as being "an authorized version of the genealogy of the Greek gods and heroes."

Lyric Poetry: Pindar. — As epic poetry, represented by the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, was the characteristic production of the earlier part of the first period of Greek Literature, so was lyric poetry the most noteworthy product of the latter part of the period.

The Æolian island of Lesbos was the hearth and home of the earlier lyric poets. The songs of these Lesbian bards fairly glow and quiver with ardent passion. Among the earliest of these singers were Alcæus and Sappho. No higher praise of Alcæus is needed than mention of the fact that the Roman poet Horace was so pleased with his verses that he borrowed sometimes entire odes of the Lesbian bard.

The poetess Sappho was exalted by the Greeks to a place next to Homer. Plato calls her the Tenth Muse. "Of all the poets of the world," writes Symonds, "of all the illustrious artists of literature, Sappho is the one whose every word has a peculiar and unmistakable perfume, a seal of absolute and inimitable grace." Although her fame endures, her poetry, except some mere fragments, has perished.

Anacreon was a courtier at the time of the Greek tyrannies. He was a native of Ionia, but passed much of his time at the court of Polycrates of Samos, and at that of the Tyrant Hipparchus at Athens. He seems to have enjoyed to the full the gay and easy life of a courtier, and sung so voluptuously of love and wine and festivity that the term "Anacreontic" has come to be used to characterize all poetry over-redolent of these themes.

Simonides of Ceos (556-468 B.C.) lived during the Persian Wars. He composed immortal couplets for the monuments of the fallen heroes of Thermopylæ and Salamis. These epigrams were burned into the very soul of every person in Hellas.

But the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, and perhaps the greatest of all lyric poets of every age and race, was Pindar (about 522-443 B.C.). He was born at Thebes, but spent most of his time in the cities of Magna Græcia. Such was the reverence in which his memory was held that when Alexander, one hundred years after Pindar's time, levelled the city of Thebes to the ground on account of a revolt, the house of the poet was spared, and left standing amid the general ruin. The greater number of Pindar's poems were inspired by the scenes of the national festivals. They describe in lofty strains the splendors of the Olympian chariot-races, or the glory of the victors at the Isthmian, the Nemean, or the Pythian games.

Pindar insists strenuously upon virtue and self-culture. With deep meaning, he says, "Become that which thou art"; that is, be that which you are made to be.

III. THE ATTIC OR GOLDEN AGE (475-300 B.C.).

Influences Favorable to a Great Literature.—The Golden Age of Greek Literature followed the Persian Wars, and was, in a large measure, produced by them. Every great literary outburst is the result of a profound stirring of the depths of national life. All Hellas had been profoundly moved by the tremendous struggle for political existence. Athens especially had hoped all, risked

all, achieved all. Her citizens now felt an unwonted exaltation of life. Hence Athens naturally becomes the home and center of the literary activity of the period.

The Attic Literature embraces almost every specimen of composition, yet the Drama, History, and Oratory are its most characteristic forms. Especially favorable were the influences of the time for the production of great dramatic works. The two conditions, "intense activity and an appreciative audience," without which, it is asserted, a great drama cannot exist, met in the age of Pericles. Hence the unrivalled excellence of the Attic drama, the noblest production of the artistic genius of the Greeks.

The Greek Drama and Dramatists.

Origin of the Greek Drama. — The Greek drama, in both its branches of tragedy and comedy, grew out of the songs and dances instituted in honor of the god of wine — Dionysus.¹



BACCHIC PROCESSION.

Tragedy (goat-song, possibly from the accompanying sacrifice of a goat) sprang from the graver songs, and comedy (village-song) from the lighter and more farcical ones. Gradually, recital and dialogue were added, there being at first but a single speaker, then two, and finally three, which last was the classical number.

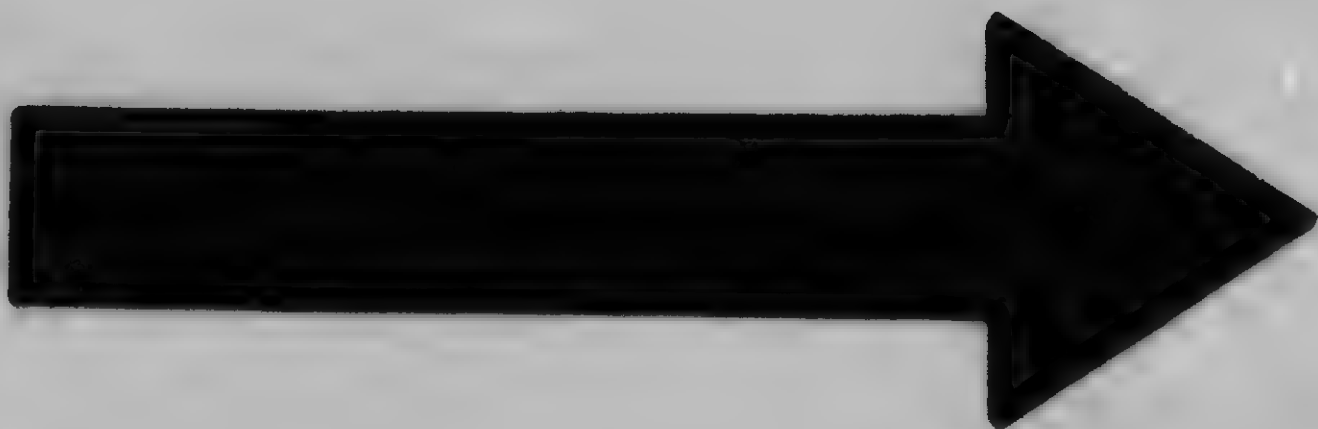
¹ The same as the Roman Bacchus.

Thespis (about 536 B.C.) is said to have introduced this idea of the dialogue, hence the term "Thespian" applied to the tragic drama.

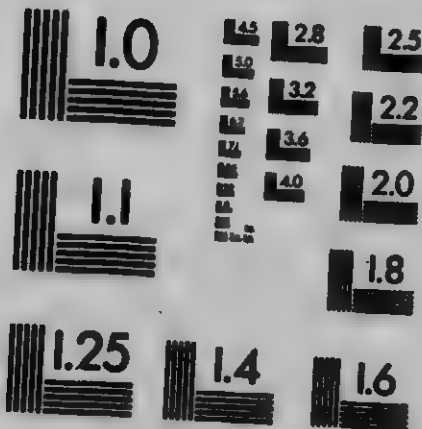
Owing to its origin, the Greek drama always retained a religious character, and further, presented two distinct features, the chorus (the songs and dances) and the dialogue. At first, the chorus was the all-important part; but later, the dialogue became the more prominent portion, the chorus, however, always remaining an essential feature of the performance. Finally, in the golden age of the Attic stage, the chorus dancers and singers were carefully trained, at great expense, and the dialogue became the masterpiece of some great poet, — and then the Greek drama, the most splendid creation of human genius, was complete.

The Subjects of the Tragic Poets. — The tragic poets of Athens drew the material of their plays chiefly from the myths and legends of the heroic age, just as Shakespeare for many of his plays used the legends of the semi-historical periods of his own country or of other countries. These legendary tales they handled freely, so changing, coloring, and moralizing them as to render them the vehicle for the conveying of great ethical lessons, or of profound philosophical ideas regarding the divine government of the world. Indeed, the mission of the tragic poets was to harmonize the fuller knowledge, the truer religious feeling of the age, with the ancient traditions and myths, — to reveal the ethical truth which the old stories of the gods and heroes contained, or which they might be made to symbolize.

The Leading Idea of Greek Tragedy. — Symonds believes the fundamental idea of Greek tragedy to be the Doctrine of Nemesis. This doctrine seems to have been evolved out of the old idea of the Divine Jealousy (see p. 33). Just as we have softened and moralized the old Hebrew idea that all suffering is Divine punishment for sin, evolving from it the Christian doctrine of affliction, which regards a large part of human pains and sufferings, not as penal inflictions, but rather as trials intended as a means of spiritual development; in like manner the Greeks moralized their unethical views of the cause of sudden reverses of fortune, of sud-



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den downfalls, and came to hold the doctrine that it is not mere prosperity itself which arouses the anger and opposition of the gods, but the pride and arrogance usually engendered in mortals by over-great prosperity.

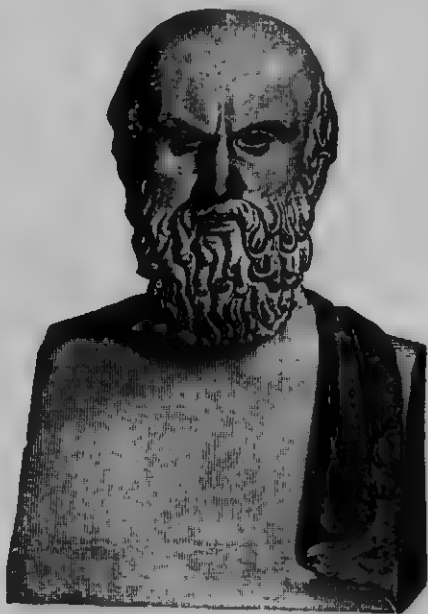
To understand how the Greeks should have come to regard insolent self-assertion, or the unrestrained indulgence of appetite or passion as the most heinous of sins, we must recall once more the legend upon the front of the Delphian temple — “Measure in all things.” As proportion was the cardinal element of beauty in art, so wise moderation was the prime quality in virtue. Those who moderated not their desire of fame, of wealth, of dominion, were the most impious of men, and all such the avenging Nemesis failed not to bring, through their own mad presumption and overvaulting ambition, to overwhelming and irretrievable ruin. The results of the Persian war confirmed the Greeks in this view of the moral government of the world; for had not they themselves seen most signally punished the unbridled ambition, the insolence, the presumptuous impiety, of the scourgers of the Hellespont and the destroyers of the temples of the gods?

We shall see in a moment how this idea inspired some of the greatest of the Greek dramas.

The Three Great Tragic Poets. — There are three great names in Greek tragedy, — Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. These dramatists all wrote during the splendid period which followed the victories of the Persian war, when the intellectual life of all Hellas, and especially that of Athens, was strung to the highest tension. This lent nervous power and intensity to almost all they wrote, particularly to the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles. Of the two hundred and fifty-eight dramas produced by these poets, only thirty-two have come down to us; all the others have perished through the accidents of time.

Æschylus (525-456 B.C.) was more than Shakespearian in the gloom and intensity of his tragedies. He knew how to touch the hearts of the generation that had won the victories of the Persian war; for he had fought with honor both at Marathon and at Sala-

mis. But it was on a very different arena that he was destined to win his most enduring fame. Eleven times did he carry off the prize in tragic composition. The Athenians called him the "Father of Tragedy." *Prometheus Bound* is one of his chief works — "one of the boldest and most original dramas," Ranke declares, "that have ever been written." The old Promethean myth which Æschylus makes the ground-work of this tragedy was immoral; that is, it represents the Supreme Zeus as treating the Titan arbitrarily and unjustly.¹ But Æschylus moralizes the tale. He makes prom-



ÆSCHYLUS.

inent Prometheus' faults of impatience and self-will, and shows that his sufferings are but the just penalty of his presumption and self-assertion.

¹ In punishment for having stolen fire from heaven and given it to men, and for having taught them the arts of life, the Titan Prometheus is chained by Zeus to a lonely cliff on the remote shores of the Euxine, and an eagle is sent to feed upon his liver, which each night grows anew.

Another of the great tragedies of Æschylus is his *Agamemnon*, thought by some to be his masterpiece. The subject is the crime of Clytæmnestra (see p. 17). It is a tragedy crowded with spirit-shaking terrors, and filled with more than human crimes and woes. Nowhere is portrayed with greater power the awful vengeance with which the implacable Nemesis is armed.¹

The theme of Æschylus' *Persæ* was the defeat of Xerxes and his host, which afforded the poet a good opportunity "to state his philosophy of Nemesis, here being a splendid tragic instance of pride humbled, of greatness brought to nothing, through one man's impiety and pride." The poet teaches that "no mortal may dare raise his heart too high," — that "Zeus tames excessive lifting up of heart."

Sophocles (495-405 B.C.) while yet a youth gained the prize in a poetic contest with Æschylus (468 B.C.), Cimon being the chief umpire. Plutarch says that Æschylus was so chagrined by his defeat that he left Athens and retired to Sicily. Sophocles now became the leader of tragedy at Athens. In almost every contest he carried away the first prize. He lived through nearly a century, a century, too, that comprised the most brilliant period of the life of Hellas. His dramas were perfect works of art.

The central idea of his dramas is the same as that which characterizes those of Æschylus; namely, that self-will and insolent pride arouse the righteous indignation of the gods, and that no mortal can contend successfully against the will of Zeus. His chief works are *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus Coloneus*, and (probably) *Antigone*, all of which are founded upon the old tales of the royal line of Thebes (see p. 13).

Euripides (485-406 B.C.) was a more popular dramatist than

¹ The *Agamemnon* forms the first of a *trilogy*; that is, a series of three dramas, the other pieces being entitled the *Chaphora* and the *Eumenides*. These continue the subject of the *Agamemnon*, so that the three really form a single drama or story. On the Greek stage, the several parts of the trilogy were performed successively the same day. This trilogy of Æschylus is the only one from the ancient stage of which all the parts have come down to us.

either *Æschylus* or *Sophocles*. *Æschylus* was too lofty, severe, and earnest a poet to be long a favorite with the volatile and pleasure-loving Athenians. They tired of him as they did of *Aris-*



SOPHOCLES

tides. Nor was *Sophocles* sensational enough to please them, after the state of exalted religious feeling awakened by the tremendous experiences of the Persian war had passed away. *Euripides* was a better representative than either of these of the Athenian in

his normal mood. The Athenian cared more for aesthetics than ethica.

The fame of Euripides passed far beyond the limits of Greece. Herodotus asserts that the verses of the poet were recited by the natives of the remote country of Gedrosia; and Plutarch says that the Sicilians were so fond of his lines that many of the Athenian prisoners, taken before Syracuse, bought their liberty by teaching their masters such of his verses as they could repeat from memory. Euripides is said to have written nearly one hundred plays, of which number, however, only seventeen remain to us. Almost all of these are based on incidents detailed in the Argonautic, Theban, and Trojan legends.

Comedy: Aristophanes. — Foremost among all writers of comedy must be placed Aristophanes (about 444-380 B.C.). He introduces us to the every-day life of the least admirable classes of Athenian society. Four of his most noted works are the *Clouds*, the *Knights*, the *Birds*, and the *Wasps*.

In the comedy of the *Clouds*, Aristophanes especially ridicules the Sophists, a school of philosophers and teachers just then rising into prominence at Athens, of whom the satirist unfairly makes Socrates the representative. But the points of the play were susceptible of a general application. "Everything that deceived, concealed, shifted, eluded, was symbolized by clouds."

The aim of the *Knights* was the punishment and ruin of Cleon, whom we already know as one of the most conceited and insolent of the demagogues of Athens.

The play of the *Birds* is "the everlasting allegory of foolish sham and flimsy ambition." "Cloud-Cuckootown," we quote the critic Symonds, "is any castle in the air or South Sea Bubble which might take the fancy of the Athenian mob." But while having a general application, it was aimed particularly at the ambitious Sicilian schemes of Alcibiades; for at the time the play appeared, the Athenian army was before Syracuse, and elated by the good news daily arriving, the Athenians were building the most gorgeous air-castles, and indulging in the most extravagant day-dreams of universal dominion.

In the *Wasps*, the poet satirizes the proceedings in the Athenian law-courts, by showing how the great citizen-juries were befooled by the demagogues.

But Aristophanes was something more than a master of mere mirth-provoking satire and ridicule: along with his exquisite sense of the humorous he possessed a nature most delicately sensitive to the finer emotions. Many of the choruses of his pieces are inexpressibly tender and beautiful.¹

History and Historians.

Poetry is the first form of literary expression among all peoples. So we must not be surprised to find that it was not until several centuries after the composition of the Homeric poems — that is, about the sixth century B.C. — that prose-writing appeared among the Greeks. Historical composition was then first cultivated. We

can speak briefly of only three historians — Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon — whose names were cherished among the ancients, and whose writings are highly valued and carefully studied by ourselves.



HERODOTUS.

Herodotus. — Herodotus (about 484–403 B.C.), born at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, is called the “Father of History.” He travelled over much of the then known world; visited Italy, Egypt, and Babylonia; and describes as an eye-witness, with a never-failing vivacity and freshness, the wonders of the different lands he had seen. Herodotus lived in a story-telling age, and he is himself an inimitable story-teller.

To him we are indebted for a large part of the tales of antiquity — stories of men and events which we never tire of repeating. He was over-credulous, and was often

¹ *Menander* (342–292 B.C.). — Menander was, after Aristophanes, the most noted of Greek comic poets. He was the leader of what is known as the New Comedy. His plays were very popular with the Romans.

imposed upon by his guides in Egypt and at Babylon; but he describes with great care and accuracy what he himself saw. It is sometimes very difficult, however, to determine just what he actually did see with his own eyes and experience in his own person; for it seems certain that, following the custom of the story-tellers of his time, he often related as his own personal adventures the experiences of others, yet with no thought of deceiving. In this he might be likened to our modern writers of historical romances.

The central theme of his great History is the Persian wars, the struggle between Asia and Greece. Around this he groups the several stories of the nations of antiquity. In the pictures which the artist-historian draws, we see vividly contrasted, as in no other writings, the East and the West, Persia and Hellas.

The fundamental idea of the whole history, the conception which shapes and colors the main narrative, is the same as that which inspires the tragedies of Æschylus — the doctrine of Nemesis. This is expressed in the admonition which Artabanus is represented as giving to his nephew Xerxes, when the king was meditating his expedition against Greece: "The god loves to cut down all towering things . . . the god suffers none but himself to be haughty. Rash haste ever goes before a fall; but self-restraint brings blessings, not seen at the moment perhaps, yet found out in due time."¹ Possessed by this idea, the historian becomes a dramatist, and his history a world-tragedy. In the ethical lesson it teaches, it is practically an expansion of the Æschylean drama of the *Persæ*.

Besides this leading Herodotean idea of Nemesis, there are two other important conceptions entering into the historian's philosophy of the universe. These are the notion of the Divine Envy (see p. 33), and the general doctrine of the interference of the gods in human affairs. Herodotus had a naïve belief in omens, oracles, and miracles generally, and this leads him constantly to attribute to preternatural causes the most ordinary events of his-

¹ *Herodotus*, Book VII. chap. 10. Quoted by Professor Jebb, *Greek Literature*, p. 105.

tory. His belief in the old immoral doctrine of the Envy of the Gods, — which he retains along with his maturer views of Nemesis, — causes him to delight in telling stories illustrative of the vicissitudes of life and the instability of fortune, as witness his tale of Polycrates (see p. 37, note).

Thucydides. — Thucydides (about 471–400 B.C.), though not so popular an historian as Herodotus, was a much more philosophical one. He was born near Athens. A pretty story is told of his youth, which must be repeated, though critics have pronounced it fabulous. The tale is that Thucydides, when only fifteen, was taken by his father to hear Herodotus recite his history at the Olympian games, and that the reading and the accompanying applause caused the boy to shed tears, and to resolve to become an historian.



THUCYDIDES.

Thucydides was engaged in military service during the first years of the Peloponnesian War; but, on account of his being unfortunate, possibly through his own neglect, the Athenians deprived him of his command, and he went into an exile of twenty years. It is to this circumstance that we are indebted for his invaluable *History of the War between the Peloponnesians and Athenians*.

Through the closest observation and study, he qualified himself to become the historian of what he from the first foresaw would prove a memorable war. "I lived," he says, "through its whole extent, in the very flower of my understanding and strength, and with a close application of my thoughts, to gain an exact insight into all its occurrences." He died before his task was completed. The work is considered a model of historical writing. In fairness, truthfulness, clearness, and philosophical insight, Thucydides has never been surpassed as a narrator and interpreter of events. Demosthenes read and re-read his writings to improve his own style; and the greatest orators and historians of modern times have been equally diligent students of the work of the great Athenian.

Xenophon. — Xenophon (about 445–355 B.C.) was an Athenian, and is known both as a general and a writer. The works that render his name so familiar are his *Anabasis*, a simple yet thrilling narrative of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks; and his *Memorabilia*, or Recollections of Socrates. This work by his devoted yet by no means brilliant pupil is the most faithful portraiture that we possess of that philosopher.

Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, or *Education of Cyrus*, is essentially an historical romance, which portrays not alone the youth, but the whole life of Cyrus the Great, besides delineating the manners and institutions of the Persians. It has been classed with Plato's *Republic* and More's *Utopia*.

Oratory.

Influence of the Public Assembly. — The art of oratory among the Greeks was fostered and developed by the democratic character of their institutions. In the public assemblies all questions that concerned the state were discussed and decided. The debates, as we have seen, were, in the democratic cities, open to all. The gift of eloquence secured for its possessor a sure pre-eminence, and conferred a certain leadership in the affairs of state. The law-courts, too, especially the great jury courts of Athens, were schools of oratory; for every citizen was obliged to be his own advocate and to defend his own case.¹ Hence the attention bestowed upon public speaking, and the high degree of perfection attained by the Greeks in the difficult art of persuasion. "It was the prevalence of the habit of public speaking," says Grote, "that was one of the principal causes of the intellectual eminence of the nation generally." Almost all the prominent Athenian statesmen were masters of oratory.

¹ The oratory of the Athenian law-courts was not always, it must be confessed, of a very high order. To move the sympathies of the jurors, the speakers too often had recourse to the low arts of the demagogue. Yet in general these courts certainly developed a popular taste and aptitude for public speaking.

Themistocles and Pericles. — We have already become acquainted with Themistocles and Pericles as statesmen and leaders of Athenian affairs during the most stirring period of Athens' history. They both were also great orators, though they are not generally classed with the orators of Greece,¹ and to that fact were largely, if not chiefly, indebted for their power and influence. Thucydides has preserved the oration delivered by Pericles in commemoration of those who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian War.² It is an incomparable picture of the beauty and glory of Athens at the zenith of her power, and has been pronounced one of the finest productions of antiquity. The language of the address, as we have it, is the historian's, but the sentiments are doubtless those of the great statesman. It was the habit of Thucydides to put speeches into the mouths of his characters.

Demosthenes and Aeschines. — It has been the fortune of Demosthenes (385-322 B.C.) to have his name become throughout the world the synonym of eloquence. The labors and struggles by which, according to tradition, he achieved excellence in his art are held up anew to each generation of youth as guides of the path to success. His first address before the public assembly was a complete failure, owing to defects of voice and manner. With indomitable will he set himself to the task of correcting these. He shut himself up in a cave, and gave himself to the diligent study of Thucydides. That he might not be tempted to spend his time in society, he rendered his appearance ridiculous by shaving one side of his head. To correct a stammering utterance, he

¹ Antiphon (480-411 B.C.) was regarded by the Greeks as the first of the ten Athenian orators. Lysias (458-380 B.C.), Isocrates (436-338 B.C.), and Isæus (b. about 420 B.C.) were all noted representatives of the art of political or forensic oratory, and forerunners of Demosthenes. We should call Isocrates a rhetorician instead of an orator, as his discourses (which for the most part were written for others to deliver) were intended to be read rather than spoken. The Roman Cicero was his debtor and imitator.

² "This custom still prevails throughout Hellas. No man of note dies without the offering of this last tribute by his friends or relatives. Many men make the delivery of these funeral orations their profession." — TIMAGENES.

spoke with pebbles in his mouth, and broke himself of an ungainly habit of shrugging his shoulders by speaking beneath a suspended sword. To accustom himself to the tumult and interruptions of the public assembly, he declaimed upon the noisiest sea-shore.



DEMOSTHENES.

These are some of the many stories told of the world's greatest orator. There is doubtless this much truth in them at least — that Demosthenes attained success, in spite of great discouragement.

ments, by persevering and laborious effort. It is certain that he was a most diligent student of Thucydides, whose great history he is said to have known by heart. More than sixty of his orations have been preserved. "Of all human productions they present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection."

The latter part of the life of Demosthenes is intertwined with that of another and rival Athenian orator, Æschines. For his services to the state, the Athenians proposed to award to Demosthenes a crown of gold. Æschines opposed this. All Athens and strangers from far and near gathered in the Agora, to hear the rival orators; for every matter at Athens was decided by a great debate. Demosthenes made the grandest effort of his life. His address, known as the "Oration on the Crown," has been declared to be "the most polished and powerful effort of human oratory." Æschines was completely crushed, and was sent into exile, and became a teacher of oratory at Rhodes.

He is said to have once gathered his disciples about him, and to have read to them the oration of Demosthenes that had proved so fatal to himself. Carried away by the torrent of its eloquence, his pupils, unable to restrain their enthusiasm, burst into applause. "Ah!" said Æschines, who seemed to find solace in the fact that his defeat had been at the hands of so worthy an antagonist, "you should have heard the wild beast himself!"

Respecting the orations (Philippics) of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon, and the death of the eloquent patriot, we have already spoken (see pp. 110, 128)

IV. THE ALEXANDRIAN AGE (300-146 B.C.)

Character of the Literature.—The Alexandrian period of Greek literature embraces the time between the break-up of Alexander's empire and the conquest of Greece by Rome (300-146 B.C.). During this period Alexandria in Egypt was the center of literary activity, hence the term *Alexandrian*, applied to the literature of the age. The great museum and library of the Ptolemies

afforded in that capital such facilities for students and authors as existed in no other city in the world.

But the creative age of Greek literature was over. With the loss of political liberty, literature was cut off from its sources of inspiration. Consequently, the Alexandrian literature lacked freshness, spontaneity, originality. It was imitative, critical, and learned. The writers of the period were grammarians, commentators, and translators—in a word, book-worms.

Works and Writers.—One of the most important literary undertakings of the age was the translation of the Old Testament of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. From the traditional number of translators (seventy) the version is known as the *Septuagint* (Latin for seventy). The work was probably begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was completed under his successors.

It was also during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus that Manetho wrote his history of Egypt, compiled from the manuscripts kept in the archives of the Egyptian temples. Just about the same time Berosus compiled, for one of the Seleucidæ, the chronicles of Chaldæa. We possess only fragments of these works, but these have a high historical value.

Among the poets of the period one name, and only one, stands out clear and pre-eminent. This is that of Theocritus, a Sicilian idyllist, who wrote at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus. His idyls are beautiful pictures of Sicilian pastoral life.

During the Alexandrian period science was cultivated by Greek scholars with considerable success; but the names most noted in this department will more properly find a place in the following chapter on Greek philosophy and science.

Conclusion: Græco-Roman Writers.—After the Roman conquest of Greece, the center of Greek literary activity shifted from Alexandria to Rome. Hence Greek literature now passes into what is known as its Græco-Roman Period (146 B.C.—527 A.D.).

The most noted historical writer of the first part of this period was Polybius (about 203–121 B.C.), who wrote a history of the Roman conquests from 264 to 146 B.C. His work, though the larger part of it has reached us in a very mutilated state, is of

great worth ; for Polybius wrote of matters that had become history in his own day. He had lived to see the larger part of the world he knew absorbed by the evergrowing power of the Imperial City.

Diodorus Siculus (lived under Augustus Caesar at Rome) was the author of a General History of the World. Herodotus had grouped all his material about the struggle between Greece and Persia, but Diodorus Siculus makes Rome the centre of the whole story. Already men were coming to regard Rome as the pre-ordained head and ruler of the world.

Plutarch (b. about 40 A.D.), "the prince of biographers," will always live in literature as the author of the *Parallel Lives*, in which, with great wealth of illustrative anecdotes, he compares or contrasts Greek and Roman statesmen and soldiers. The motive that led Plutarch to write the book, as we may infer from the partiality which he displays for his Grecian heroes, was a desire "to show the world that there was a time when the Greeks were superior to the Romans."

CHAPTER XII.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

Relation of Mythology to Philosophy. — Philosophy has been very aptly defined as mythology grown old and wise. Grecian mythology did not become sufficiently wise to be called philosophy until the sixth century B.C. About that time the Greeks began to think and to inquire in a philosophical manner respecting the phenomena and laws of the universe of mind and matter, giving the most attention at first, however, to the physical world. Having once entered upon this path, the Greek race reached, almost at a bound, the loftiest heights of philosophical speculation.

The Use of Verse in Philosophy. — All the earlier Greek philosophers were poet-philosophers; that is, they conveyed their instruction in verse, "dragging the hexameter," as one figures it, "along the pathway of their argument upon the entities, like a pompous sacrificial vestment." Heraclitus (about 500 B.C.) was the first prominent thinker to employ prose in philosophical discussions. As a consequence of his innovation, he failed to be understood, and his would-be disciples were out of patience with him because he did not philosophize to them in the usual way.

The Seven Sages; the Forerunners. — About the sixth century B.C. there lived and-taught in different parts of Hellas many philosophers of real or reputed originality and wisdom. Among these were seven men, called the "Seven Sages," who held the place of pre-eminence. As in the case of the Seven Wonders of the World, ancient writers were not always agreed as to what names should be accorded the honor of enrollment in the sacred number. Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus are, however, usually reckoned as the Seven Wise Men. To them

belongs the distinction of having first aroused the Greek intellect to philosophical thought. The wise sayings — such as "Know thyself" and "Nothing in excess" — attributed to them, are beyond number.

It will be noticed that several of the sages were tyrants or lawgivers. This is not a mere coincidence; it is explained by the fact that participation in active political life stirs and quickens the intellect.

The ethical maxims and practical proverbs ascribed to the sages, while, like the so-called proverbs of Solomon, they contain a vast amount of practical wisdom, still do not constitute philosophy proper, which is a systematic search for the reason and causes of things. They form simply the introduction or prelude to Greek philosophy.

The Ionic Philosophers. — The first Greek school of philosophy grew up in the cities of Ionia, in Asia Minor, where almost all forms of Hellenic culture seem to have had their beginning. The founder of the system was Thales of Miletus (about 640–550 B.C.), who was followed by Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Heraclitus.

One tenet held in common by all these philosophers was that matter and mind are inseparable; or, in other words, that all matter is animate. They never thought of the soul as something distinct and separable from matter, as we do. Even the shade in Hades was conceived as having a body in every respect like that the soul possessed in the earthly life, only it was composed of a subtler substance. This conception of matter as being alive will help us to understand Greek mythology, which, it will be remembered, endowed trees, rivers, springs, clouds, the planets, all physical objects indeed, with intelligence and will.

This sensate matter the philosophers held to be eternal, regarding creation and annihilation as both alike impossible.

But this animated matter appeared under four forms — fire, air, water, and earth, the well-known "four elements."¹ Out of

¹ At first the elements numbered only three, — air, water, and earth, — fire being regarded as simply a kind of refined air. These elements of the ancient philosophers answer to the seventy or more elements of modern chemistry.

these four elements all things in heaven and earth were made. But the philosophers differed as to which of the four elements was the original principle, that is, the one from which all the others were derived; for the Greek mind could not rest until it had found unity. Thales believed water to be the first principle; Anaximenes urged that it was air; while Heraclitus taught that it was fire.¹

From the original element all the others were supposed to be derived by a process of rarefaction and condensation. (This notion is something like the modern theory of astronomical evolution, which, from an original infinitely expanded gaseous nebula, produces by successive condensations the air, the water, and the solid rock of the various planets.) Rain was simply condensed air. The wood and flesh of the sacrifice, when consumed upon the altar, were merely transformed into fire (ether), which seeking its own, naturally mounted to its native sphere — the empyrean. This philosophical notion helps us to understand the fundamental idea of the ancient sacrifices. The gods were pleased with the offerings, because these being converted into flame or ether, could be actually partaken of as food by the celestials.

Pythagoras. — Pythagoras (about 580–500 B.C.) was born on the island of Samos, whence his title of "Samian Sage." Probable tradition says that he spent many years of his early life in Egypt, where, being admitted, through the favor and influence of King Amasis, to the sacred colleges of the priests, he became versed in all the mysteries of the Egyptians. He returned to Greece with a great reputation, and finally settled at Croton, in Italy. Here he gathered about him a renowned school, or society, composed of six hundred companions, all selected with special regard to their capacity to assimilate his peculiar doctrines.

Like many another ancient philosopher, Pythagoras sought to

¹ By the term *fire* the ancient philosophers meant about what we understand by the term *ether* (which comes from the Greek word *αἰθήρ*, meaning "to burn"). The ether or fire formed a sphere above the air, ensphering it just as it in turn enspheres the earth.

increase the reverence of his disciples for himself by peculiarities of dress and manner. His uncut hair and beard flowed down upon his shoulders and over his breast. He never smiled. His dress was a white robe, with a golden crown. For the first years of their novitiate, his pupils were not allowed to look upon their master. They listened to his lectures from behind a curtain. *Ipse dixit*, "he himself said so," was the only argument they must employ in debate. It is to Pythagoras that we are indebted for the word *philosopher*. Being asked of what he was master, he replied that he was simply a "philosopher," that is, a "lover of wisdom."

Pythagoras held views of the solar system that anticipated by two thousand years those of Copernicus and his school. He taught, only to his most select pupils nowever, that the earth is a sphere; and that, like the other planets, it revolves about a central globe of fire. From him comes the pretty conceit of the "music of the spheres." He imagined that the heavenly spheres, by their swift, rolling motions, produced musical notes, which united in a celestial melody, too refined for human ears. Music held an important place in his system of philosophy.

He taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, an idea he had doubtless brought from Egypt. Because of this belief the Pythagoreans were strict vegetarians, abstaining religiously from the use of all animal food.

Anaxagoras — Anaxagoras (499-427 B.C.) was the first Greek philosopher who made *mind*, instead of necessity or chance, the arranging and harmonizing force of the universe. "Reason rules the world" was his first maxim. This proposition, which makes mind and matter two distinct things, and mind the fashioner of matter, marks a turning-point in Greek philosophy. It based it upon the same fundamental conceptions as that upon which the Hebrew philosophy of the world rested, and prepared the way for the union, four centuries later, of these two systems of thought, at Alexandria (see p. 189).

Anaxagoras was the teacher in philosophy of Pericles, and it is

certain that that statesman was greatly influenced by the liberal views of the philosopher; for in his general conceptions of the universe, Anaxagoras was far in advance of his age. He ventured to believe that the moon was somewhat like the earth, and inhabited; and taught that the sun was not a god, but a glowing rock, as large, probably, as the Peloponnesus.

But for his audacity, the philosopher suffered the fate of Galileo in a later age; he was charged with impiety and exiled. Yet this did not disturb the serenity of his mind. In banishment he said, "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me."

Empedocles and Democritus.—In the teachings of Empedocles (about 492–432 B.C.) and Democritus (about 460–370 B.C.) we meet with many speculations respecting the constitution of matter and the origin of things which are startlingly similar to some of the doctrines held by modern scientists.

Empedocles was an evolutionist. He said, "Since the higher forms of life can only arise out of the lower, these latter must be regarded as the lower stages through which the former must pass." In this conclusion Empedocles anticipated modern evolutionists twenty centuries; but then he failed to point out the law (natural selection) through the operations of which the transformation takes place, and so his happy guess as to the "origin of species" remained only a guess.

Democritus, in his theory of atoms, made a very close approach in some respects to the views of modern physicists regarding the constitution of matter and the formation of the worlds. He conceived all things, including the soul, to be composed of invisible, uncreated atoms, all alike in quality, but differing in form and combination. Respecting the formation of the world from the original chaos of atoms, he held a theory that had points of similarity to the modern nebular hypothesis.

The Sophists.—The Sophists, of whom the most noted were Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus, were a class of philosophers or teachers who gave instruction in rhetoric and the art of disputa-

tion. They travelled about from city to city, and, contrary to the usual custom of the Greek philosophers, took fees from their pupils. They were shallow but brilliant men, caring more for the dress in which the thought was arrayed, than for the thought itself, more for victory than for truth; and some of them inculcated a selfish morality, placing expediency before right. The better philosophers of the time despised them, and applied to them many harsh epithets, taunting them with selling wisdom, and accusing them of boasting that they could "make the worse appear the better reason."

But this latter accusation was unjust. What the Sophists, among other things conducive to success in life, really taught the people was the art of conducting their own cases before the great citizen-juries, where every man was forced to be his own advocate. That their pupils often employed the art in making the unjust appear the just cause, there is no doubt; but the Sophists should hardly be held responsible for this abuse of the art they taught. The lawyer's profession of the present day is often perverted, but not for that reason should the whole art of pleading and of forensic oratory be left untaught.

Socrates.—Volumes would not contain what would be both instructive and interesting respecting the lives and works of the three great philosophers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. We can, however, accord to each only a few words. Of these three eminent thinkers, Socrates (469–399 B.C.), though surpassed in grasp and power of intellect by both Plato and Aristotle, has the firmest hold upon the affections of the world.

Nature, while generous to the philosopher in the gifts of soul, was unkind to him in the matter of his person. His face was ugly as a satyr's, and he had an awkward, shambling walk, so that he invited the shafts of the comic poets of his time. His figure is said to have been the most ungainly, and therefore the most familiar, of any upon the streets of Athens. He loved to gather a little circle about him in the Agora or in the streets, and then to draw out his listeners by a series of ingenious questions. His method

was so peculiar to himself that it has received the designation of the "Socratic dialogue." He has very happily been called an *educator*, as opposed to an *instructor*. In the young men of his time Socrates found many devoted pupils. The youthful Alcibiades declared that "he was forced to stop his ears and flee away, that he might not sit down by the side of Socrates and grow old in listening."

Socrates was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Xanthippe, his wife, seems to have been of a practical turn of mind, and unable to sympathize with the abstracted ways of her husband. "Sometimes she threw water on him; but this only elicited from the mild philosopher the remark to those about him, 'Did I not say that Xanthippe was thundering and would soon rain?'"

This great philosopher believed that the proper study of mankind is man, his favorite maxim being "Know Thyself"; hence he is said to have brought philosophy from the heavens and introduced it to the homes of men.



SOCRATES.

Socrates held the Sophists in aversion, and in opposition to their selfish expediency taught the purest system of morals that the world had yet known, and which has been surpassed only by the precepts of the Great Teacher. He thought himself to be restrained from entering upon what was inexpedient or wrong, by a tutelary spirit (demon). He believed in the immortality of the soul and in a Supreme Ruler of the universe, but sometimes spoke slightly of the temples and the popular deities. This led to his prosecution on the double charge of blasphemy and of corrupting the Athenian youth. The fact that Alcibiades had been his pupil was used to prove the demoralizing tendency of his teachings. He was condemned to drink the fatal hemlock. The night before

his death he spent with his disciples, discoursing on the immortality of the soul.

Plato.—Plato (429–348 B.C.), “the broad-browed,” was a philosopher of noble birth, before whom in youth opened a brilliant career in the world of Greek affairs; but, coming under the influence of Socrates, he resolved to give up all his prospects in politics and devote himself to philosophy. Upon the condemnation and death of his master he went into voluntary exile. In many lands he gathered knowledge and met with varied experiences. He



PLATO.

visited Sicily, where he was so unfortunate as to call upon himself the resentment of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, through having worsted him in an argument, and also by an uncourtly plainness of speech. The king caused him to be sold into slavery as a prisoner of war. Being ransomed by a friend, he found his way to his native Athens, and established a school of philosophy in the Academy, a public garden close to Athens. Here, amid the disciples that thronged to his lectures, he passed the greater part of his long life—he died 348 B.C., at the age of eighty-one years—laboring incessantly upon the great works that bear his name.

Plato imitated in his writings Socrates method in conversation. The discourse is carried on by questions and answers, hence the term *Dialogues* that attaches to his works. He attributes to his master, Socrates, much of the philosophy that he teaches: yet his *Dialogues* are all deeply tinged with his own genius and thought. In the *Republic* Plato portrays his conception of an ideal state. He was opposed to the republic of Athens, and his

system, in some of its main features, was singularly like the Feudal System of Mediæval Europe. Especially is this true as to his military aristocracy.

The *Phædo* is a record of the last conversation of Socrates with his disciples — an immortal argument for the immortality of the soul.

Plato believed not only in a future life (post-existence), but also in pre-existence; teaching that the ideas of reason, or our intuitions, are reminiscences of a past experience.¹ Plato's doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon all schools of thought and philosophies since his day. In some of his precepts he made a close approach to the teachings of Christianity. "We ought to become like God," he said, "as far as this is possible; and to become like Him is to become holy and just and wise."

Aristotle. — As Socrates was surpassed by his pupil Plato, so in turn was Plato excelled by his disciple Aristotle, "the master of those who know." In him the philosophical genius of the Hel-

¹ In the following lines from Wordsworth we catch a glimpse of Plato's doctrine of pre-existence:

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
Nor yet in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home." — *Ode on Immortality*.

And again: "And but for our surface and distracted lives — lived here for the most part in the senses — we should have never lost the consciousness of our descent into immortality, nor have questioned our resurrection and longevity. But as in descending all drink of oblivion — some more, some less — it happens that while all are conscious of life, by defect of memory our recollections are various concerning it; those discerning most vividly who have drunk least of oblivion, they more easily recalling the memory of their past existence. Ancient of days, we hardly are persuaded to believe that our souls are no older than our bodies, and to date our nativity from our family registers, as if time and space could chronicle the periods of the immortal mind by its advent into the flesh and decess out of it." — *ALCOTT's Tablets*, p. 203.

lenic intellect reached its culmination. It may be doubted whether all the ages since his time have produced so profound and powerful an intellect as his. He was born in the Macedonian city of Stagira (384 B.C.), and hence is frequently called the "Sta-



ARISTOTLE.

girite." As in the case of Socrates, his personal appearance gave no promise of the philosopher. He had a small and contemptible body, the defects of which were made more noticeable by his over-

scrupulous care of his dress and by the finery he wore. His teacher Plato, however, recognized the genius of his pupil, and called him the "Mind of the school." When he missed him from the class he would say, "Intellect is not here to-day." He also called him "The Reader," because he devoured so eagerly the works of the masters.

After studying for twenty years in the school of Plato, Aristotle became the preceptor of Alexander the Great. When Philip invited him to become the tutor of his son, he gracefully complimented the philosopher by saying in his letter that he was grateful to the gods that the prince was born in the same age with him. The royal pupil loved his great teacher with an affectionate devotion. He said, "I owe great love to my father and to my teacher Aristotle; to one for living, and to the other for living well." Alexander became the liberal patron of his tutor, and, besides giving him large sums of money, aided him in his scientific studies by sending him large collections of plants and animals, gathered on his distant expeditions.

At Athens the great philosopher delivered his lectures while walking about beneath the trees and porticos of the Lyceum; hence the term *peripatetic* (from the Greek *peripatein*, "to walk about") applied to his philosophy. He died 322 B.C., the same year that marks the death of Demosthenes.

Among the productions of his fertile intellect are works on rhetoric, logic, poetry, morals and politics, physics and metaphysics. For centuries his works were studied and copied and commented upon by both European and Asiatic scholars, in the schools of Athens and Rome, of Alexandria and Constantinople. Until the time of Bacon in England, for nearly two thousand years, Aristotle ruled over the realm of mind with a despotic sway. All teachers and philosophers acknowledged him as their guide and master.

Zeno and the Stoics.—We are now approaching the period when the political life of Hellas was failing, and was being fast overshadowed by the greatness of Rome. But the intellectual life

of the Greek race was by no means eclipsed by the calamity that ended its political existence. For centuries after that event the poets, scholars, and philosophers of this intellectual people led a brilliant career in the schools and universities of the Roman world.

From among all the philosophers of this long period, we can select for brief mention only a few. And first we shall speak of Zeno and Epicurus, who are noted as founders of schools of philosophy that exerted a vast influence upon both the thought and the conduct of many centuries.

Zeno, founder of the celebrated school of the Stoics, lived in the third century before our era (about 362-264). He taught at Athens in a public porch (in Greek, *stoa*), from which circumstance comes the name applied to his disciples.

The Cynical philosophy was the outgrowth, in part at least, of that of the Cynics, a sect of most rigid and austere morals. The typical representative of this sect is found in Diogenes, who lived, so the story goes, in a tub, and went about Athens by daylight with a lantern, in search, as he said, of a *man*. The Cynics were simply a race of pagan hermits: Diogenes was the Simon Stylites (a noted Christian ascetic) of the sect.

Zeno adopted all that was good in the code of the Cynics, and, adding to this everything that he found of value in the systems of other philosophers, he formed therefrom his new philosophy. It became a favorite system of thought with certain classes of the Romans, and under its teachings and doctrines were nourished some of the purest and loftiest characters produced by the pagan world. It numbered among its representatives, in later times, the illustrious Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the scarcely less renowned and equally virtuous slave Epictetus. In many of its teachings it anticipated Christian doctrines, and was, in the philosophical world, a very important preparation for Christianity.

The Stoics inculcated virtue for the sake of itself. They believed—and it would be very difficult to frame a better creed—that “man’s chief business here is to do his duty.” Bodily pain,

they taught, was nothing; and they schooled themselves to bear with perfect composure any lot that destiny might appoint. Any sign of emotion on account of calamity was considered unmanly and unphilosophical. Thus, when told of the sudden death of his son, the Stoic replied, "Well, I never imagined that I had given life to an immortal."

Epicurus and the Epicureans. — Epicurus (342–270 B.C.), who was a contemporary of Zeno, taught, in opposition to the Stoics, that *pleasure* is the highest good. He recommended virtue, indeed, but only as a means for the attainment of pleasure; whereas the Stoics made virtue an end in itself. In other words, Epicurus said, "Be virtuous, because virtue will bring you the greatest amount of happiness"; Zeno said, "Be virtuous, because you ought to be."

Epicurus had many followers in Greece, and his doctrines were eagerly embraced by many among the Romans during the corrupt and licentious period of the Roman empire. Many of these disciples carried the doctrines of their master to an excess that he himself would have been the first to condemn. (There is often more of good or evil in a philosophy than its founder ever dreams of.) Allowing full indulgence to every appetite and passion, their whole philosophy was expressed in the proverb, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." No pure or exalted life could be nourished in the unwholesome atmosphere of such a philosophy. Epicureanism never produced a single great character.

The Skeptics; Pyrrho. — About the beginning of the third century B.C. skepticism became widespread in Greece. It seemed as though men were losing faith in everything. Many circumstances had worked together in bringing about this state of universal unbelief. A wider knowledge of the world had caused many to lose their faith in the myths and legends of the old mythologies. The existence of so many systems of philosophy caused men to doubt the truth of any of them. The conquests of Alexander, by bringing the Greek mind in contact with the

strange Asiatic systems of belief, tended powerfully to deepen and confirm this feeling of bewilderment and uncertainty. Many thoughtful minds were hopelessly asking, "What is truth?"

Pyrrho (about 360-270 B.C.) was the Greek Thomas. He doubted everything, and declared that the great problems of the universe could not be solved. It was the duty of man, and the part of wisdom, to entertain no positive judgment on any matter, and thus to ensure serenity and peace of mind.

The disciples of Pyrrho went to absurd lengths in their skepticism, some of them even saying that they asserted nothing, not even that they asserted nothing. They doubted whether they doubted.

The Neo-Platonists. — Neo-Platonism was a blending of Greek philosophy and Oriental mysticism. It has been well called the "despair of reason," because it abandoned all hope of man's ever being able to attain the *highest* knowledge through the intellect, and held that the human soul, when in an ecstatic state or prophet-like trance, received, through a higher faculty 'han reason, in a sort of vision, revelations of divine and eternal truth. It was chiefly a theological philosophy; that is, it dealt with the nature of God and his relations to man. The centre of this last movement in Greek philosophical thought was Alexandria in Egypt, the meeting-place, in the closing centuries of the ancient world, of the East and the West.

Philo the Jew (b. about 30 B.C.), who labored to harmonize Hebrew doctrines with the teachings of Plato, was the forerunner of the Neo-Platonists. But the greatest of the school was Plotinus (A.D. 204-269), who spent the last years of his life at Rome, where he was a great favorite. Four times in six years, according to one of his disciples, was he freed from the body, and being absorbed in the Infinite, saw God, in ecstatic vision.

Conflict between Neo-Platonism and Christianity. — While the Neo-Platonists were laboring to restore, in modified form, the ancient Greek philosophy and worship, the teachers of Christianity were fast winning the world over to a new faith. The two

systems came into deadly antagonism. For a time the issue of the contention between the Hellenic philosophers and the Christian Fathers may have seemed doubtful. But by the close of the third century A.D. it was plain that the majority of the people of the Roman empire, which now virtually embraced the world, were already, or at least soon would be, disciples of the Christian teachers. It was doubtless his persuasion of this fact that led the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337) to throw his influence on the side of the Christian Fathers, and proclaim Christianity as the favored religion of the empire.

Under Julian the Apostate (Roman Emperor A.D. 361-363), who was an ardent Neo-Platonist, the Hellenic philosophy was restored, and every effort made to discredit and destroy the Christian faith. With his death, however, passed away the last good hope of the restoration of the renovated philosophy of ancient Greece. The gifted and beautiful Hypatia, almost the last representative of the old system of speculation and belief, was torn to pieces in the streets of Alexandria by a mob of fanatic Christian monks (A.D. 415). Finally the Roman Emperor Justinian forbade the pagan philosophers to teach their doctrines (A.D. 529).¹ This imperial edict closed forever the Greek schools, in which for more than a thousand years the world had received instruction upon the loftiest themes that can engage the human mind. The Greek philosophers, as living, personal teachers, had finished their work; but their systems of thought will never cease to attract and influence the best minds of the race.

Science among the Greeks.

In ancient times no single people or race excelled in all departments of knowledge or human endeavor. Having, then, seen the wonderful genius of the Greek race for art, literature, and philosophy, we are prepared to learn that they never evinced great aptitude for the more practical sciences. In art and literature the

¹ See MYERS' *Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 68, 69.

Greeks are still our teachers; in science we are immeasurably their superiors. Still, while this is true, the contributions of the Greek observers to the physical sciences have laid us under no small obligation to them. Especially did the later Greeks do much good and lasting work in the mathematical sciences.

Some of those whom we have classed as philosophers, Thales and Anaxagoras for instance, were careful students of nature, and might be called scientists. The great philosopher Aristotle wrote some valuable works on anatomy and natural history, his observations being held in the highest esteem by naturalists of the present day for their accuracy. From his time onward the sciences were pursued with much zeal and success.

Mathematics: Euclid and Archimedes. — Alexandria, in Egypt, became the seat of the most celebrated school of mathematics of antiquity. Here, under Ptolemy Lagus, flourished Euclid, the great geometer, whose work forms the basis of the science of geometry as taught in our schools at the present time. Ptolemy himself was his pupil. The royal student, however, seems to have disliked the severe application required to master the problems of Euclid, and asked his teacher if there was not some easier way. Euclid replied, "There is no royal road to geometry."

In the third century B.C., Syracuse, in Sicily, was the home of Archimedes, the greatest mathematician that the Grecian world produced. He had a marvellous genius for figures, and investigated the abstrusest problems in geometry, mechanics, and the allied sciences. The range and productiveness of his genius are shown by the following titles to some of his works: *On Bodies Floating in Fluids; On Centres of Gravity; On the Sphere and the Cylinder.*

His acquaintance with the first subject is illustrated by the familiar story that is told of the manner in which he detected the impurity of the gold in the crown of Hiero, king of Syracuse. The king, suspecting that the gold had been alloyed, submitted the article to Archimedes, who detected the fraud by means of the principle of specific gravities, which was suggested to him while

bathing. Leaping from the bath, he ran through the corridors, exclaiming, "*Eureka! Eureka!*" — "I have found it! I have found it!"

His knowledge of the second subject and of the laws of the lever is indicated by the oft-quoted boast that he made to Hiero: "Give me a place to stand, and I will move the world." His elucidation of the properties of the sphere and cylinder were, even in his own estimation, so important that he requested that a figure of these should be placed, as the fittest memorial of his life, upon his tomb. More than one hundred years afterwards Cicero discovered and identified the monument by means of these emblems.

During the siege of Syracuse by the Romans, Archimedes rendered his native city valuable service by driving off or destroying the enemy's vessels by means of ingenious and powerful engines. The story of his setting fire to the Roman ships by means of mirrors reflecting the sun's rays, is, after much discussion, allowed to be not only possible, but probable. Archimedes perished in the sack of the city (212 B.C.), but in what way he met his death is not known with certainty.

Astronomy and Geography. — Among ancient Greek astronomers and geographers, the names of Aristarchus, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Strabo, Pausanias, and Claudius Ptolemy are distinguished.

Aristarchus of Samos, who lived in the third century B.C., held that the earth revolves about the sun as a fixed center, and rotates on its own axis. He was the Greek Copernicus. But his theory was rejected by his contemporaries and successors.

Eratosthenes (b. about 276 B.C.) might be called an astronomical geographer. His greatest achievement was the fairly accurate determination of the circumference of the earth by means of the different lengths of the shadow cast by the midday sun in Upper and Lower Egypt at the time of the summer solstice.

Hipparchus, who flourished about the middle of the second century B.C., was, through his careful observations, the real founder of scientific astronomy. He calculated eclipses, observed the

precession of the equinoxes, catalogued the stars, and wrote several astronomical works of a really scientific character.

Strabo was born about half a century before our era. He travelled over a large part of the world, and describes, as an eyewitness, the scenery, the productions, and the peoples of all the countries known to the ancients.

About two centuries after Strabo's time, Pausanias wrote his "Tour of Greece," a sort of guide-book, which is crowded with invaluable little items of interest respecting all the places best worth visiting in Greece.

Claudius Ptolemy, the most noted of ancient astronomers, lived in Egypt about the middle of the second century after Christ. His great reputation is due not so much to his superior genius as to the fortunate circumstance that a vast work¹ compiled by him, preserved and transmitted to later times almost all the knowledge of the ancient world on astronomical and geographical subjects. In this way it has happened that his name has become attached to various doctrines and views respecting the universe, though these probably were not originated by him. The phrase *Ptolemaic system*, however, links his name inseparably, whether the honor be fairly his or not, with that conception of the solar system set forth in his works, which continued to be the received theory from his time until Copernicus — fourteen centuries later.

Ptolemy combated the theory of Aristarchus in regard to the rotation and revolution of the earth; yet he believed the earth to be a globe, and supported this view by exactly the same arguments that we to-day use to prove the doctrine.

Medicine and Anatomy. — Hippocrates (b. about 460 B.C.), the founder of a school of medicine at Cos, did so much to emancipate the art of healing from superstition and ignorance, and to make it a scientific study, that he is called the "Father of Medicine."² His central doctrine was that there are laws of disease

¹ Known to Mediæval Europe by its Arabian title *Almagest*, meaning "the greatest."

² The patron god of medicine was *Æsculapius*.

as well as laws of healthy life. The works ascribed to him form the basis of modern medical science.

The most noted Greek physician after Hippocrates was Galenus Claudius, or simply Galen (about A.D. 130-193). He wrote a multitude of books, which gathered up all the medical and anatomical knowledge of his time, and which were greatly prized and carefully studied by the medical students of the Middle Ages.

The advance of the science of anatomy among the ancient Greeks was hindered by their feelings respecting the body, which caused them to look with horror upon its deliberate mutilation. Surprising as the statement may appear, it is nevertheless true that Aristotle, "the greatest of all thinkers in antiquity, the son of a physician, especially educated in physical science, and well acquainted for the time with the dissection of animals, regarded the brain as a lump of cold substance, quite unfit to be the seat and organ of the *sensus communis*.¹ This important office he ascribed rather to the heart. The brain he considered to be chiefly useful as the source of fluids for lubricating the eyes, etc."² At Alexandria, however, in the later period, under the influence doubtless of Egyptian practices in embalming, the Greek physicians greatly promoted the knowledge of anatomy not only by the dissection of dead bodies, but even by the vivisection of criminals condemned to death.³

¹ The thinking faculty, the mind.

² Ladd's *Elements of Physiological Psychology*, p. 240.

³ Some practices among the Greek physicians strike us as peculiar. The following is too characteristically Greek to be omitted. Plato, in the *Gorgias*, tells us that sometimes the doctor took a Sophist along with him to persuade the patient to take his prescription. Professor Mahaffy comments thus upon this practice: "This was done because it was the fashion to discuss everything in Greece, and people were not satisfied to submit silently to anybody's prescription, either in law, politics, religion, or medicine."

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GREEKS.

Education. — Education at Sparta, where it was chiefly gymnastic, as we have seen, was a state affair ; but at Athens and throughout Greece generally, the youth were trained in private schools. These schools were of all grades, ranging from those kept by the most obscure teachers, who gathered their pupils in some recess of the street, to those established in the Athenian Academy and Lyceum by such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.

It was only the boys who received education. These Grecian boys, Professor Mahaffy imagines, were "the most attractive the world has ever seen." At all events, we may believe that they were trained more carefully and delicately than the youth among any other people before or since the days of Hellenic culture.

In the nursery, the boy was taught the beautiful myths and stories of the national mythology and religion.¹ At about seven

¹ At the birth of a child, many customs of a significant character were carefully observed. Thus at Sparta the new-born infant was first cradled on a shield, which symbolized the martial life of the Spartan citizen; while at Athens the child was laid upon a mantle in which was wrought the ægis of Athena, by which act was emblemized and invoked the protection of that patron goddess. Infanticide was almost universally practised throughout Greece. (At Thebes, however, the exposure of children was prohibited by severe laws.) Such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle saw nothing in the custom to condemn. Among the Spartans, as we have already learned, the state determined what infants might be preserved, condemning the weakly or ill-formed to be cast out to die. At Athens and in other states the right to expose his child was given to the father. The infant was abandoned in some desert place, or left in some frequented spot in the hope that it might be picked up and cared for. Greek literature, like that of every other people of antiquity, is filled with stories and dramas all turning upon points afforded

he entered school, being led to and from the place of training by an old slave, who bore the name of *pedagogue*, which in Greek means a guide or leader of boys—not a teacher. His studies were grammar, music, and gymnastics, the aim of the course being to secure a symmetrical development of mind and body alike.

Grammar included reading, writing, and arithmetic; music, which embraced a wide range of mental accomplishments, trained the boy to appreciate the masterpieces of the great poets, to contribute his part to the musical diversions of private entertain-



A GREEK SCHOOL. (After a vase-painting.)

ments, and to join in the sacred choruses and in the pæan of the battle-field. The exercises of the *palestræ* and the *gymnasia* trained him for the Olympic contests, or for those sterner hand-to-hand battle-struggles, in which so much depended upon personal strength and dexterity.

Upon reaching maturity, the youth was enrolled in the list of citizens. But his graduation from school was his "commencement" in a much more real sense than with the average modern by this common practice. The career of Sargon of Agadê, of Cyrus the Great of Persia, of the Hebrew Moses, of Œdipus of Thebes, of Romulus and Remus of Roman legend, and a hundred others, are all prefaced by the same story of exposure and fortunate rescue.

graduate. Never was there a people besides the Greeks whose daily life was so emphatically a discipline in liberal culture. The schools of the philosophers, the debates of the popular assembly, the practice of the law-courts, the masterpieces of a divine art, the religious processions, the representations of an unrivalled stage, the Panhellenic games—all these were splendid and efficient educational agencies, which produced and maintained a standard of average intelligence and culture among the citizens of the Greek cities that probably has never been attained among any other people on the earth. Freeman, quoted approvingly by Mahaffy, says that "the average intelligence of the assembled Athenian citizens was higher than that of our [the English] House of Commons."

Social Position of Woman.—Although there are in Greek literature some exquisitely beautiful portraiture of ideal womanhood, still the general tone of the literature betrays a deep contempt for woman, which Symonds regards as "the greatest social blot upon the brilliant but imperfect civilization of the Greeks." The poets are particularly sarcastic. Simonides winds up a bitter invective against women in general, in which he compares different classes of them to various despicable animals, by saying, "Zeus made this supreme evil—women: even though they seem to be of good, when one has got one, she becomes a plague." And another poet (Hipponax) says, "A woman gives two days of happiness to man—her bridal and her burial." Plato does not entertain a high opinion of the sex, while Thucydides quotes with seeming approval the Greek proverb,— "That woman is best who is least spoken of among men, whether for good or for evil."

The myth of Pandora seems to have sprung up out of just such sentiments as the above. This fable evidently reacted upon the feelings and practices of the Greeks, just as the Oriental story of the Fall of Man through the temptation of Eve contributed to the giving of woman a position of inferiority and subjection in the early Christian church.

This unworthy conception of woman of course consigned her to a narrow and inferior place in the Greek home. Her position may be defined as being about halfway between Oriental seclusion and modern or Western freedom. Her main duties were to cook and spin, and to oversee the domestic slaves, of whom she herself was practically one. In the fashionable society of Ionian cities, she was seldom allowed to appear in public, or to meet, even in her own house, the male friends of her husband. In Sparta, however, and in Dorian states generally, she was accorded unusual freedom, and was a really important factor in society.

The seclusion and neglect to which women were condemned in Ionian communities, in contrast with the great liberty enjoyed by women in the Dorian cities, is doubtless to be attributed, in part at least, to the influence upon the former of Asiatic custom, entering Greece through Ionia.

The low position generally assigned the wife in the home had a most disastrous effect upon Greek morals. She could exert no such elevating or refining influence as she casts over the modern home. The men were led to seek social and intellectual sympathy and companionship outside the family circle, among a class of talented and often highly cultured women, known as *Hetairæ*. As the most noted and brilliant representative of this class stands Aspasia, the friend of Pericles. Her conversation possessed attraction for the most prominent and accomplished men of Athens, such persons as Socrates and Anaxagoras often assembling at her house. Yet the influence of this class was most harmful to social morality, so that to the degradation of woman in the home may be traced the source of the most serious stain that rests upon Greek civilization.

Friendship among the Greeks.—From speaking of the inferior rank assigned woman in the Greek home, we are led by a natural transition to speak of Greek friendship between men. While it seems quite certain that that romantic sentiment to which we give distinctively the name of love, was not the universal and absorbing passion among the Greeks that it is among modern

civilized peoples, it is equally certain that the ancient Greeks possessed a capacity for friendship between man and man such as is rarely or never seen among the men of modern times. It would scarcely be incorrect to say that the Greek men "fell in love" with each other. An ardent and romantic attachment sprang up between companions, which possessed all the higher elements of that chivalrous sentiment which the modern man seems capable of entertaining only for one of the opposite sex. "The chivalry of Hellas found its motive force," writes Symonds, "in friendship rather than in the love of woman. . . . Fraternity in arms played for the Greek race the same part as the idealization of woman for the knighthood of Feudal Europe."

Greek literature and history afford innumerable instances of this wonderful and happy capacity of the Greeks for friendship. The memory easily recalls the Homeric picture of the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus; the attachment, stronger than death, between Damon and Pythias; the friendship of the patriot heroes Pelopidas and Epaminondas, of Alexander and Hephaestion; and the attachments that united, in bonds dissolvable only by death, the members of the Sacred Band of Thebes.

Theatrical Entertainments.—Among the ancient Greeks the theatre was a state establishment, "a part of the constitution." This arose from the religious origin and character of the drama (see p. 160), all matters pertaining to the popular worship being the care and concern of the state. Theatrical performances, being religious acts, were presented only during religious festivals, — certain festivals observed in honor of Dionysus, — and were attended by all classes, rich and poor, men, women, and children. The women, however, except the Hetairæ, were, it would seem, permitted to witness tragedies only; the comic stage was too gross to allow of their presence.

The upper ranges of seats in the theatre were reserved for the women; the chairs bordering the orchestra were for the officers of the state and other persons of distinction; while the intervening tiers of seats were occupied by the general audience. The

spectators sat under the open sky; and the pieces followed one after the other in close succession from early morning till night.

There were companies of players who strolled about the country, just as the English actors of Shakespeare's time were wont to do. Such bands often accompanied the army to the field in time of war. While the better class of actors were highly honored, ordinary players were held in very low esteem, in which matter the Greek stage presents another parallel to that of England in the sixteenth century. And as in the Elizabethan age the writers of plays were frequently also performers, so in Greece, particularly during the early period of the drama, the author often became an actor, and assisted in the presentation of his own pieces. Still another parallel is found in the fact that the female parts in the Greek dramas, as in the early English theatre, were taken by men.

The stage machinery of the Greek theatre and the costumes of the actors were ingenious and elaborate. There were movable scenes; trap-doors and various machines for introducing the infernal and celestial divinities and swinging them through the air; contrivances for imitating all the familiar sounds of the country, the roar and crash of storm and thunder, and all the noises that are counterfeited on the modern stage. The tragic actor increased his height and size by wearing thick-soled buskins, an enormous mask, and padded garments. The actor in comedy wore thin-soled slippers, or socks. The *sock* being thus a characteristic part of the make-up of the ancient comic actor, and the *buskin* that of the tragic actor, these foot-coverings have come to be used



GREEK TRAGIC FIGURE.

as the symbols respectively of comedy and tragedy, as in the familiar lines of Dryden :—

"Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
Nor greater Jonson darts in socks appear."

The chorus were often gorgeously and fantastically costumed. Thus in the play of the "Birds" by Aristophanes, they were arrayed each to represent some gay-plumaged bird ; while in the "Clouds," by the same poet, to counterfeit clouds they appeared in the midst of fleecy drapery, and enveloped in the smoke of incense. By similar devices of drapery and masks, all the divinities and monsters known to Greek mythology were brought before the spectators.

The expenses of the choruses were defrayed by rich citizens, who at Athens were chosen by the different tribes in turn. The person elected to provide the chorus was known as the *choragus*. He often spent large sums in competition with other leaders. The choragus who presented the best chorus was awarded a prize, and was allowed the privilege of erecting, at his own expense, a monument in commemoration of his victory (see page 142, choragic monument of Lysicrates).

The theatre exerted a great influence upon Greek life. It performed for ancient Greek society somewhat the same service as that rendered to modern society by the pulpit and the press. During the best days of Hellas the frequent rehearsal upon the stage of the chief incidents in the lives of the gods and the heroes served to deepen and strengthen the religious faith of the people ; and later, when with the Macedonian the days of decline came, it was one of the chief agents in the diffusion of Greek literary culture over the world. Theatres arose everywhere, and it was chiefly through the popular representations of the stage that a knowledge of the best productions of Greek literature was imparted to the mixed population of the Hellenistic cities of Egypt and Western Asia, and to the inhabitants of the cities of Italy as well.

Banquets and Symposia. — Banquets and drinking-parties

among the Greeks possessed some features which set them apart from similar entertainment among other people.

The banquet proper was partaken, in later times, by the guest in a reclining position, upon couches or divans, arranged about the table in the Oriental manner. After the usual courses, a libation was poured out and a hymn sung in honor of the gods, and then followed that characteristic part of the entertainment known as the *symposium*.

The *symposium* was "the intellectual side of the feast." It consisted of general conversation, riddles, and convivial songs rendered to the accompaniment of the lyre passed from hand to hand. Generally professional singers and musicians, dancing-girls, jugglers, and jesters, were called in to contribute to the merry-making. All the while the wine-bowl circulated freely, the rule being that a man might drink "as much as he could carry home without a guide, — unless he were far gone in years." Here also the Greeks applied their maxim, "Never too much." Besotted drunkenness, though by no means unknown in Greece, was always regarded as a most disgraceful thing.

The banqueters usually consumed the night in merry-making, sometimes being broken in upon from the street by other bands of revellers, who made themselves self-invited guests.

The *symposium* must at times, when the conversation was sustained by such persons as Socrates and Aristophanes, have been "a feast of reason and a flow of soul" indeed. Xenophon in his "Banquet" and Plato in his "Symposium" have each left us a striking report of such an entertainment.

Occupations. — The enormous body of slaves in ancient Greece (see next paragraph) relieved the free population from most of those forms of labor classed as drudgery. The æsthetic Greek regarded as degrading any kind of manual labor that marred the symmetry or beauty of the body.

At Sparta, and in other states where oligarchical constitutions prevailed, the citizens formed a sort of military caste, strikingly similar to the military aristocracy of Feudal Europe. Their chief

occupation was martial and gymnastic exercises and the administration of public affairs. The Spartans, it will be recalled, were forbidden by law to engage in trade. In other aristocratic states, as at Thebes, a man by engaging in trade disqualified himself for full citizenship.

In the democratic states, however, speaking generally, labor and trade were regarded with less contempt. A considerable portion of the citizens were traders, artisans, and farmers.

Life at Athens presented some peculiar features. All Attica being included in what we would term the corporate limits of the city, the roll of Athenian citizens included a large body of well-to-do farmers, whose residence was outside the city walls. The Attic plains, and the slopes of the half-encircling hills, were dotted with beautiful villas and inviting farmhouses. "It is probable," says a well-known student of Greek life, in speaking of the appearance of the country about Athens just before the Peloponnesian War, "that as a scene of unambitious affluence, taste, high cultivation, and rustic contentment, nothing was ever beheld to compare with Attica."¹

And then Athens being the head of a great empire of subject cities, a large number of Athenian citizens were necessarily employed as salaried officials in the minor positions of the public service, and thus politics became a profession. In any event, the meetings of the popular assembly and the discussion of matters of state engrossed more or less of the time and attention of every citizen.

Again, the great Athenian jury-courts, which were busied with cases from all parts of the empire, gave constant employment to nearly one-fourth of the citizens, the fee that the jurymen received enabling him to live without other business. It is said that, in the early morning, when the jurymen were passing through the streets to the different courts, Athens appeared like a city wholly given up to the single business of law. Furthermore, the great public works, such as temples and commemorative monuments, which

¹ St. John, *History of the Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*.

were in constant process of erection, afforded employment for a vast number of artists and skilled workmen of every class.

In the Agora, again, at any time of the day, a numerous class might have been found whose sole occupation, as in the case of Socrates, was to talk. The writer of the "Acts of the Apostles" was so impressed with this feature of life at Athens that he summarized the habits of the people by saying, "All the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing."

Slavery. — There is a dark side to Greek life. Hellenic art, culture, refinement — "these good things were planted, like exquisite exotic flowers, upon the black, rank soil of slavery."

The proportion of slaves to the free population in many of the states was astonishingly large. In Corinth and Ægina there were ten slaves to every freeman. In Attica the proportion was four to one; that is to say, out of a population of about 500,000, 400,000 were slaves.¹ Almost every freeman was a slave owner. It was accounted a real hardship to have to get along with less than half a dozen slaves.

This large class of slaves was formed in various ways. In the prehistoric period, the fortunes of war had brought the entire population of whole provinces into a servile condition, as in certain parts of the Peloponnesus. During later times, the ordinary captives of war still further augmented the ranks of these unfortunates. Their number was also largely added to by the slave traffic carried on with the barbarian peoples of Asia Minor. Criminals and debtors, too, were often condemned to servitude; while foundlings were usually brought up as slaves.

The relation of master and slave was regarded by the Greek as being, not only a legal, but a natural one. A free community, in his view, could not exist without slavery. It formed the natural basis of both the family and the state, — the relation of master and slave being regarded as "strictly analogous to the relation of

¹ The population of Attica in 317 B.C. is reckoned at about 527,000. That of Athens in its best days was probably not far from 150,000.

soul and body." Even Aristotle and other Greek philosophers approved the maxim that "slaves were simply domestic animals possessed of intelligence."¹ They were regarded just as necessary in the economy of the family as cooking utensils.

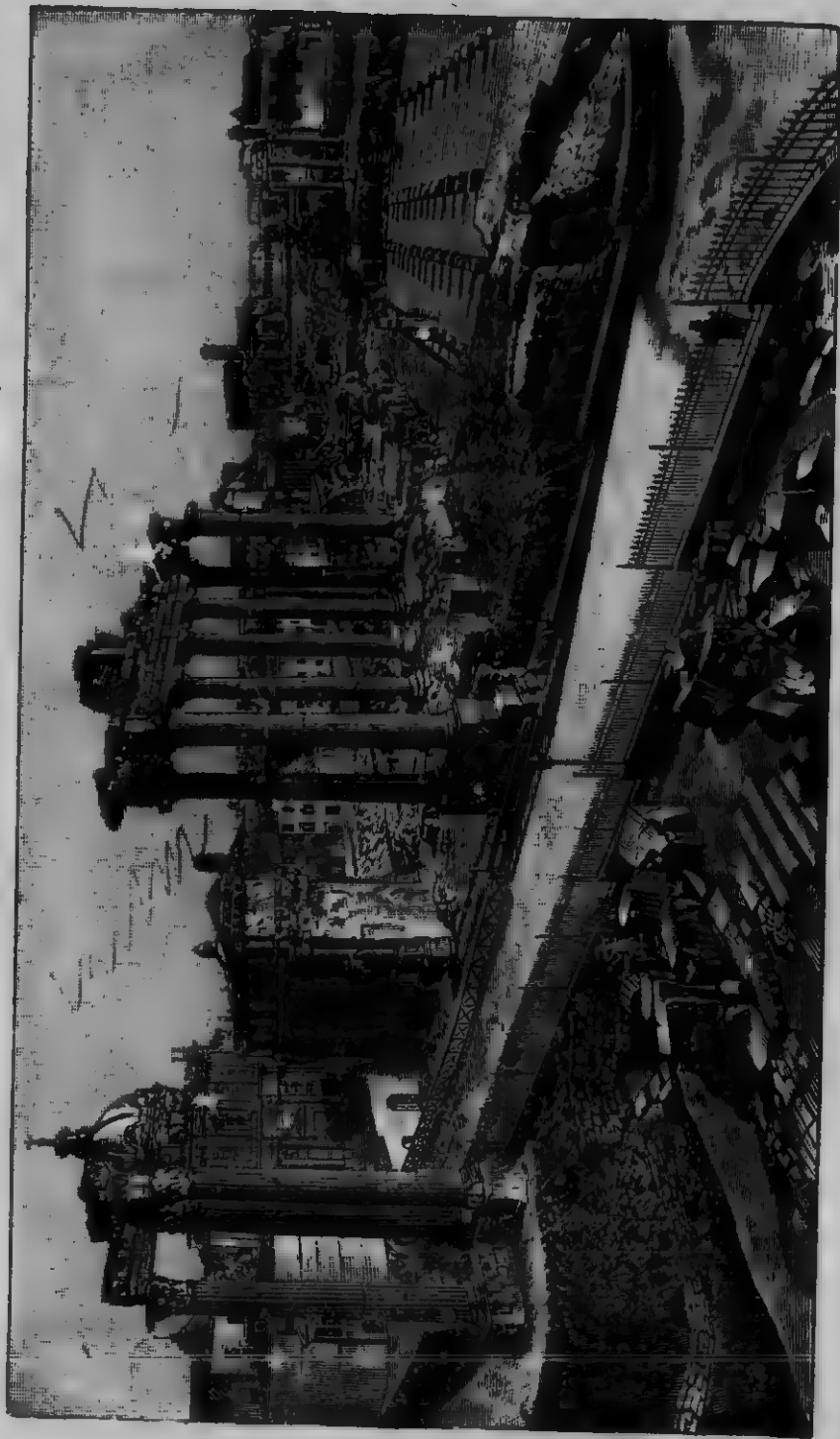
In general, Greek slaves were not treated harshly — judging their treatment by the standard of humanity that prevailed in antiquity. Some held places of honor in the family, and enjoyed the confidence and even the friendship of their master. Yet at Sparta, where slavery assumed the form of serfdom, the lot of the slave was peculiarly hard and unendurable. Even at Athens we hear much, in connection with the state silver mines at Laurium (in southern Attica), of a labor contract-system which certainly was characterized by much callousness of feeling towards the slave, if we may judge from the conditions of the usual agreement, which bound the contractor to pay an annual rental equal to one-half the value of the slave (which implies that the poor creatures were worn out rapidly), and at the expiration of the contract to return to the owner simply *the same number* of slaves as had been hired.

If ever slavery was justified by its fruits, it was in Greece. The brilliant civilization of the Greeks was its product, and could never have existed without it. As one truthfully says, "Without the slaves the Attic democracy would have been an impossibility, for they alone enabled the poor, as well as the rich, to take a part in public affairs." Relieving the citizen of all drudgery, the system created a class characterized by elegant leisure, refinement, and culture.

¹ This harsh, selfish theory, it should be noted, was somewhat modified and relaxed, when the slave class, through the numerous captives of the unfortunate civil wars, came to be made up in considerable part of cultured Greeks, instead of being, as was the case in earlier times, composed almost exclusively of barbarians, or of inferior branches of the Hellenic race, between whom and their cultured masters there was the same difference in mental qualities as existed between the negro slaves and their masters in our own country. The sentiment that a slave was an unfortunate person, rather than an inferior being, came to prevail — a sentiment which aided powerfully in preparing the way for the Christian doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man.

We find an almost exact historical parallel to all this in the feudal aristocracy of Mediæval Europe. Such a society has been well likened to a great pyramid, whose top may be gilded with light, while its base lies in dark shadows. The civilization of ancient Hellas was splendid and attractive, but it rested with a crushing weight upon all the lower orders of Greek society.

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THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1885.

HISTORY OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN KINGDOM.

(Legendary date, 753-509 B.C.)

Divisions of Italy.—The peninsula of Italy divides itself into three parts, — Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. The first comprises the great basin of the Po, lying between the Alps and the Apennines.¹ In ancient times this part of Italy included three districts, — Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina, and Venetia. The first embraced the southwestern and the last the northeastern part of Northern Italy. Gallia Cisalpina lay between these two districts, occupying the finest portion of the valley of the Po. It received its name, which means "Gaul on this (the Italian) side of the Alps," from the Gallic tribes that about the fifth century before our era found their way over the mountains and settled upon these rich lands.

The countries of Central Italy were Etruria, Latium, and Campania, facing the Western, or Tuscan Sea; Umbria and Picenum, looking out over the Eastern, or Adriatic Sea; and Samnium and the country of the Sabines, occupying the rough mountain districts of the Apennines.

Southern Italy comprised the districts of Apulia, Lucania, Calabria, and Bruttium. Calabria formed the "heel," and Bruttium the "toe," of the peninsula. The coast region of Southern Italy, as we have already learned, was called Magna Græcia, or

¹ It should be noted that the Italy of early times did not embrace the northern part of the peninsula.

"Great Greece," on account of the number and importance of the Greek cities that during the period of Hellenic supremacy were established on these shores.

The large island of Sicily, lying just off the mainland on the south, may be regarded simply as a detached fragment of Italy, so intimately has its destiny been connected with that of the peninsula. In ancient times it was the meeting-place and battle-ground of the Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

Mountains and Rivers.—Italy, like the other two peninsulas of Southern Europe, Greece and Spain, has a high mountain barrier, the Alps, along its northern frontier. Cicero once said that the gods had raised this wall to protect the peninsula from the northern barbarians. If such was the purpose of the celestial mountain-builders, it was a strange oversight on their part that they should have left a great gap in the Eastern, or Julian Alps; for here is a low pass, through which the barbarians, as we shall see, often poured like a devastating flood into Italy.

Corresponding to the Pindus range in Greece, the Apennines run as a great central ridge through the entire length of the peninsula.

Italy has only one really great river, the Po (*Pādus*), which drains the large northern valley lying between the Alps and the Apennines. The streams running down the eastern slope of the Apennines are short and of little volume. Among them the Rubicon, the Metaurus, and the Aufidus are connected with great matters of history. Into the Rubicon it was that Cæsar plunged when he cast the die for the empire of the world; upon the Metaurus, Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, was defeated in the Second Punic War; and on the banks of the Aufidus was fought the great battle of Cannæ.

Among the rivers draining the western slopes of the Apennines, the one possessing the greatest historic interest is the Tiber, on the banks of which Rome arose. North of this stream is the Arno (*Arnas*), which watered a part of the old Etruria; and south of it, the Liris, one of the chief rivers of Campania.

Red
Killing

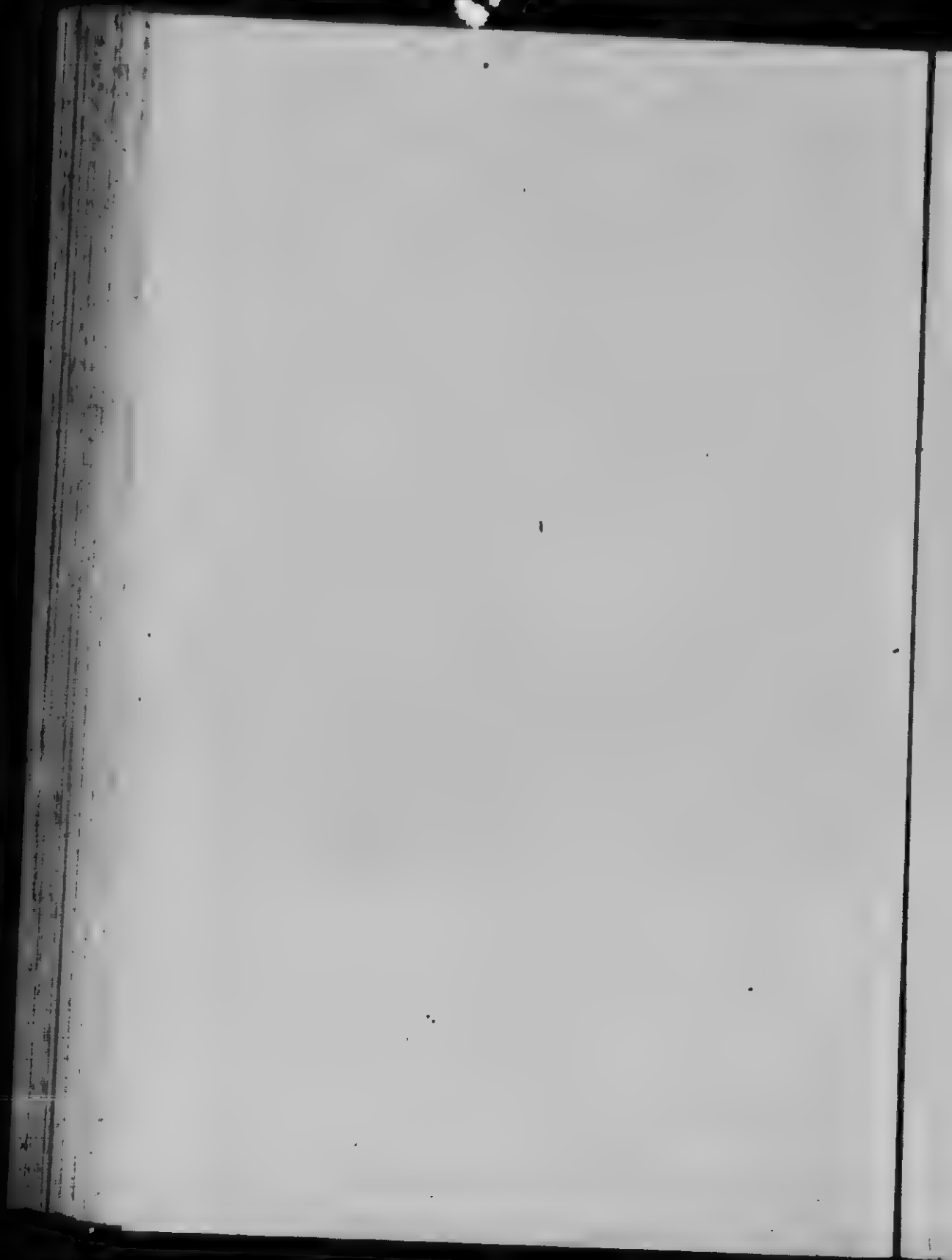
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Early Inhabitants of Italy.—There were, in early times, three chief races in Italy,—the Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks.¹ The Italians, a branch of the Aryan family, embraced two principal stocks,—the Latin and the Umbro-Sabellian (Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, Lucanians, etc.),—the various tribes or nations of which occupied nearly all Central, and a considerable part of Southern, Italy. The Etruscans, a wealthy, cultured, and maritime people of uncertain race, dwelt in Etruria, now Tuscany. They here formed a league of twelve cities, and before the rise of the Roman people were the leading race in the peninsula. Numerous works of art—such as tombs, fragments of walls, massive dikes to keep back the sea, and long tunnels piercing the sides of hills to drain the lakes lying in the craters of extinct volcanoes—show the advance in civilization they had made at a very remote date.

Some five hundred years B.C. the Gauls came over the Alps, pressed the Etrurians out of Northern Italy, into which quarter they had extended their power, and settling in those regions, became the most formidable enemies of the infant republic of Rome. Of the establishment of the Greek cities in Southern Italy we have already learned in connection with Grecian history.

The Latins.—Most important of all the Italian peoples were the Latins, who dwelt in Latium, between the Tiber and the Liris. These people, like all the Italians, were near kindred of the Greeks, and brought with them into Italy all those customs, manners, beliefs, and institutions that we have seen to have been the common possession of the various branches of the Arian household.² Their life was, for the most part, that of shepherds and farmers. There are said to have been in Latium in early times thirty towns, which formed an alliance known as the Latin League. The city which first assumed importance and leadership among the towns of this confederation was Alba Longa, the "Long White

¹Besides these principal races there were the Iapygians in Calabria, and the Venetians and the Ligurians in the north of the peninsula. The Ligurians were of non-Aryan race, but the others were seemingly of Aryan relationship.

²See *High School English Grammar*, pp. 10, 11.

City," so called because its buildings stretched for a great distance along the summit of a whitish ridge.

The Beginnings of Rome. — The place of pre-eminence among the Latin towns was soon lost by Alba Longa, and gained by another city. This was Rome, the stronghold of the Ramnes, or Romans, located upon a low hill on the south bank of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from the sea.

The traditions of the Romans place the founding of their city in the year 753 B.C. The town was established, it would seem, as an outpost to guard the northern frontier of Latium against the Etruscans.

Recent excavations have revealed the foundations of the old walls and two of the ancient gates. We thus learn that the city at first covered only the top of the Palatine Hill, one of a cluster of low eminences close to the Tiber, which, finally embraced within the limits of the growing city, became the famed "Seven Hills of Rome." From the shape of its enclosing walls, the original city was called *Roma Quadrata*, or "Square Rome."

The Early Roman State: King, Senate, and Popular Assembly. — The early Roman state seems to have been formed by the union of three communities.¹ These constituted three tribes, known as Ramnes (the Romans proper, who gave name to the mixed people), Tities, and Luceres. Each of these tribes was divided into ten wards, or districts (*curia*); each ward was made up of *gentes*, or clans, and each clan was composed of a number of families. The heads of these families were called *patres*, or "fathers," and all the members patricians; that is, "children of the fathers."

At the head of the nation stood the King, who was the father of the state. He was at once ruler of the people, commander of

¹Compare the beginning of Rome with that of Athens, *History of Greece*, p. 49: "The *synoikismos* [union of several communities, as in the present case] did not necessarily involve an actual settlement together at one spot; but while each resided as formerly on his own land, there was thenceforth only one council-hall and court-house for the whole."—MOMMSEN.

the army, judge and high priest of the nation, with absolute power as to life and death.

Next to the king stood the Senate, or "council of the old men," composed of the "fathers," or heads of the families. This council had no power to enact laws: the duty of its members was simply to advise with the king, who was free to follow or to disregard their suggestions.

The Popular Assembly (*comitia curiata*) comprised all the citizens of Rome; that is, all the members of the patrician families old enough to bear arms. It was this body that enacted the laws of the state, determined upon peace or war, and also elected the king.

Classes of Society. — The two important classes of the population of Rome under the kingdom and the early republic were the patricians and the plebeians. The former were the members of the three original tribes that made up the Roman people, and at first alone possessed political rights. They were proud, exclusive, and tenacious of their inherited privileges. The latter were made up chiefly of the inhabitants of subjected cities, and of refugees from various quarters that had sought an asylum at Rome. They were free to acquire property, and enjoyed personal freedom, but at first had no political rights whatever. The greater number were petty land-owners, who held and cultivated the soil about the city. A large part of the early history of Rome is simply the narration of the struggles of this class to secure social and political equality with the patricians.

Besides these two principal orders, there were two other classes, — clients and slaves. The former were attached to the families of patricians, who became their patrons, or protectors. The condition of the client was somewhat like that of the serf in the feudal system of the Middle Ages. A large clientage was considered the crown and glory of a patrician house.

The slaves were, in the main, captives in war. Their number, small at first, gradually increased as the Romans extended their conquests, till they outnumbered all the other classes taken to-

gether, and more than once turned upon their masters in formidable revolts that threatened the very existence of the Roman state.

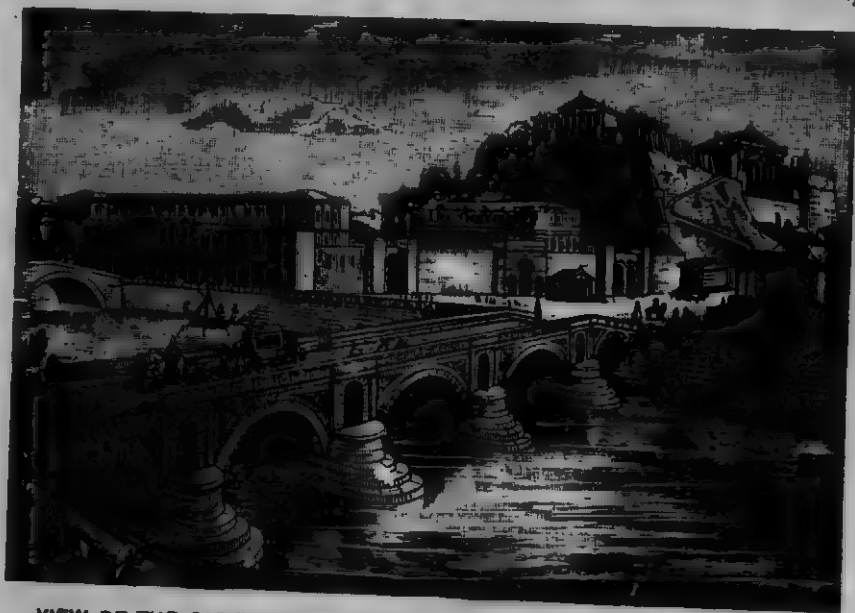
The Legendary Kings. — For nearly two and a half centuries after the founding of Rome (from 753 to 509 B.C., according to tradition), the government was a monarchy. To span this period, the legends of the Romans tell of the reigns of seven kings, — Romulus, the founder of Rome; Numa, the lawgiver; Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Marcius, conquerors both; Tarquinius Priscus, the great builder; Servius Tullius, the reorganizer of the government and second founder of the state; and Tarquinius Superbus, the haughty tyrant, whose oppressions led to the abolition by the people of the office of king.

The traditions of the doings of these monarchs and of what happened to them blend hopelessly fact and fable. We cannot be quite sure even as to their names. Respecting Roman affairs, however, under the last three rulers (the Tarquins), who were of Etruscan origin, some important things are related, the substantial truth of which we may rely upon with a fair degree of certainty; and these matters we shall notice in the following paragraphs.

Growth of Rome under the Tarquins. — The Tarquins extended their authority over the whole of Latium. The position of supremacy thus given Rome was naturally attended by the rapid growth in population and importance of the little Palatine city.¹ The

¹ Several causes have been assigned to account for the early and rapid growth of the power of Rome. Its situation upon the Tiber was, without doubt, favorable to its early development as a centre of trade and commerce; while its distance from the sea protected it from the depredations of the pirates, which in early times swarmed in the Mediterranean and desolated the coast cities. But most potent of all influences in shaping the fortunes and character of the inhabitants of the little Palatine town was the necessity which they found themselves under to form some sort of social and political connection with the neighboring communities that held possession of the hills immediately about them. The early circumstances of the national life would thus seem to have given a certain legal and political bias to that Roman genius which was destined to give laws to the world.

original walls soon became too strait for the increasing multitudes ; new ramparts were built — tradition says under the direction of the king Servius Tullius — which, with a great circuit of seven miles, swept around the entire cluster of the Seven Hills. A large tract of marshy ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was drained by means of the Cloaca Maxima, the "Great Sewer," which was so admirably constructed that it has been preserved to the present day. It still discharges its waters through a great arch into the Tiber. The land thus reclaimed became the Forum,



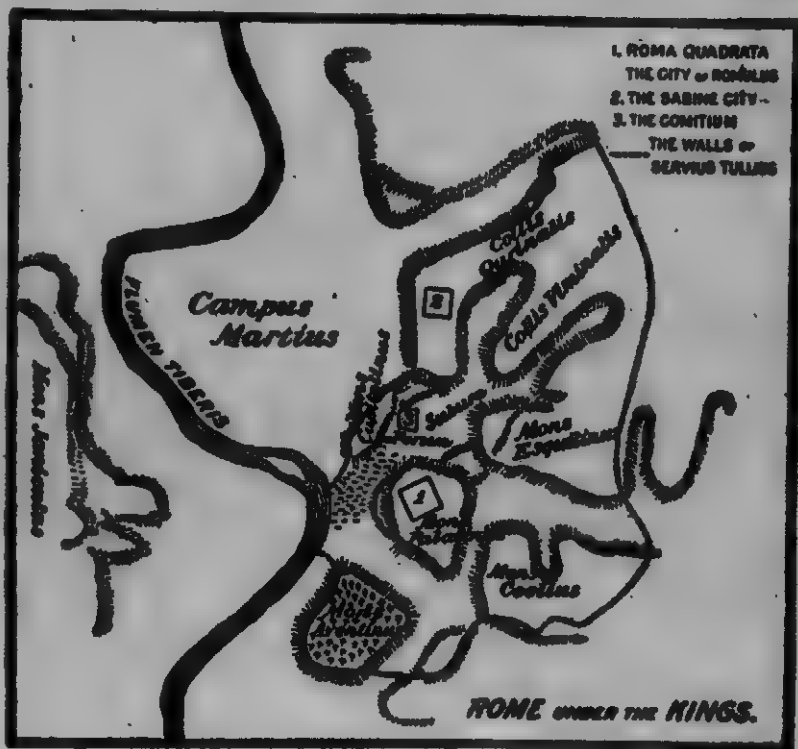
VIEW OF THE CAPITOLINE, WITH THE CLOACA MAXIMA. (A Reconstruction.)

the assembling-place of the people. At one angle of this public square, as we should term it, was the Comitium, an enclosure where the assemblies of the patricians were held. Standing upon this slightly elevated ground, and so placed that the speaker could address both the plebeians in the Forum and the patricians in the Comitium, was the rostrum,¹ or stand, from which the Roman

¹ Called by the Romans the *Rostra*. It was so named because decorated with the beaks (*rostra*) of war-galleys taken from enemies.

orators delivered their addresses. This assembling-place in later times was enlarged and decorated with various monuments and surrounded with splendid buildings and porticoes. Here more was said, resolved upon, and done, than upon any other spot in the ancient world.

The Senate-house occupied one side of the Forum; and facing this on the opposite side were the Temple of Vesta and the palace



of the king. Overlooking all from the summit of the Capitoline was the famous sanctuary called the Capitol, or the Capitoline Temple, where beneath the same roof were the shrines of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the three great national deities.

Upon the level ground between the Aventine and the Palatine was located the Circus Maximus, the "Great Circle," where were celebrated the Roman games. The most noted of the streets of

Rome was the Via Sacra, or "Sacred Way," which traversed the Forum and led up the Capitoline Hill to the temple of Jupiter. This was the street along which passed the triumphal processions of the Roman conquerors.

New Constitution of Servius Tullius. — The second king of the Etruscan house, Servius Tullius by name, effected a most important change in the constitution of the Roman state. He did here at Rome just what Solon at about this time did at Athens.¹ He made property instead of birth the basis of the constitution. The entire population was divided into five classes, the first of which included all citizens, whether patricians or plebeians, who owned twenty *jugera* (about twelve acres) of land; the fifth and lowest embraced all that could show title to even two *jugera*. The army was made up of the members of the five classes; as it was thought right and proper that the public defence should be the care of those who, on account of their possessions, were most interested in the maintenance of order and in the protection of the frontiers of the state.

The assembling-place of the military classes thus organized was on a large plain just outside the city walls, called the Campus Martius, or "Field of Mars." The meeting of these military orders was called the *comitia centuriata*, or the "assembly of hundreds."² This body, which of course was made up of patricians and plebeians, gradually absorbed the powers of the earlier patrician assembly (*comitia curiata*).

The reforms of Servius Tullius were an important step towards the establishment of social and political equality between the two great orders of the state. The new constitution indeed, as Mommsen says, assigned to the plebeians duties only, and not rights: but being called to discharge the duties of citizens, it was not long before they demanded the rights of citizens; and as the bearers of arms, they were able to enforce their demands.

¹See *History of Greece*, p. 52.

²This assembly was not organized by Servius Tullius, but it grew out of the military organization he created.

The Expulsion of the Kings. — The legends make Tarquinius Superbus, or Tarquin the Proud, the last king of Rome. He is represented as a monstrous tyrant, whose arbitrary acts caused both patricians and plebeians to unite and drive him and all his house into exile. This event, according to tradition, occurred in the year 509 B.C., only one year later than the expulsion of the tyrants from Athens.¹

So bitterly did the people hate the tyranny they had abolished that it is said they all, the nobles as well as the commons, bound themselves by most solemn oaths never again to tolerate a king, enacting that should any one so much as express a wish for the restoration of the monarchy, he should be considered a public enemy, and be put to death. We shall hereafter see how well this vow was kept for nearly five hundred years.

THE ROMAN RELIGION.

Influence upon Political Affairs. — To the early Romans the gods were very real. Hence religion had a great influence upon the course of public events at Rome during the first centuries of her existence. Later, when the learned had lost faith in and fear of the gods, religion was used corruptly for political purposes. Thus it happens that the political history of the Roman people

¹See *History of Greece*, p. 54.

The sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in ancient history correspond politically to the eighteenth and nineteenth in modern history. As the later period is characterized, in the political sphere, by the substitution of democracy for monarchy, so was the earlier era marked by the decay of monarchical and the growth of popular forms of government. Speaking of the abolition of monarchy at Rome, Mommsen says: "How necessarily this was the result of the natural development of things is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that the same change of constitution took place in an analogous manner through the whole circuit of the Italo-Grecian world. Not only in Rome, but likewise among the other Latins as well as among the Sabellians, Etruscans, and Apulians, — in fact, in all the Italian communities, just as in those of Greece, — we find the rulers for life of an earlier epoch superseded in after times by annual magistrates."

becomes closely interwoven with their religion. Therefore, in order to understand the transactions of the period upon which we are about to enter, we must first acquaint ourselves with at least the prominent features of the religious institutions and beliefs of the Romans.

The Chief Roman Deities. — The basis of the Roman religious system was the same as that of the Grecian: the germs of its institutions were brought from the same early Aryan home. At the head of the Pantheon stood Jupiter, identical in all essential



HEAD OF JANUS. (From a Roman Coin.)

attributes with the Hellenic Zeus. He was the special protector of the Roman people. To him, together with Juno and Minerva, was consecrated, as we have already noticed, a magnificent temple upon the summit of the Capitoline Hill, overlooking the Forum and the city. Mars, the god of war, standing next in rank, was the favorite deity and the fabled father of the Roman race, who were fond of calling themselves the "Children of Mars." They proved themselves worthy offspring of the war-god. Martial games

and festivals were celebrated in his honor during the first month of the Roman year, which bore, and still bears, in his honor, the name of March. Janus was a double-faced deity, "the god of the beginning and the end of everything." The month of January was sacred to him, as were also all gates and doors. The gates of his temple were always kept open in time of war and shut in time of peace.

The fire upon the household hearth was regarded as the symbol of the goddess Vesta.

Her worship was a favorite one with the Romans. The nation, too, as a single great family, had a common national hearth, in the Temple of Vesta, where the sacred fires were kept burning from generation to generation by six virgins, daughters of the Roman state.¹ The Lares and Penates were household gods. Their images were set in the entrance of the dwelling. The Lares were the spirits of ancestors, which were thought to linger about the home as its guardians.



VESTAL VIRGIN.

Oracles and Divination. — The Romans, like the Greeks, thought that the will of the gods was communicated to men by means of oracles, and by strange sights, unusual events, or singu-

¹ For an interesting account of the remains of the House of the Vestals, brought to light by recent excavations, see Lanciani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*.

lar coincidences. There were no true oracles at Rome. The Romans, therefore, often had recourse to those in Magna Græcia, even sending for advice, in great emergencies, to the Delphian shrine. From Etruria was introduced the art of the haruspices, or soothsayers, which consisted in discovering the will of the gods by the appearance of victims slain for the sacrifices.

The Sacred Colleges. — The four chief sacred colleges, or societies, were the Keepers of the Sibylline Books, the College of Augurs, the College of Pontiffs, and the College of the Herald.

A curious legend is told of the Sibylline Books. An old woman came to Tarquinius Superbus and offered to sell him, for an extravagant price, nine volumes. As the king declined to pay the sum demanded, the woman departed, destroyed three of the books, and then, returning, offered the remainder at the very same sum that she had wanted for the complete number. The king still refused to purchase, so the sibyl went away and destroyed three more of the volumes, and bringing back the remaining three, asked the same price as before. Tarquin was by this time so curious respecting the contents of the mysterious books that he purchased the remaining volumes. It was found upon examination that they were filled with prophecies respecting the future of the Roman people. The books, which were written in Greek, were placed in a stone chest, and kept in a vault beneath the Capitoline temple; and special custodians were appointed to take charge of them and interpret them. The number of keepers, throughout the most important period of Roman history, was fifteen. The books were consulted only in times of extreme danger.

The duty of the members of the College of Augurs was to interpret the omens, or auspices, which were casual sights or appearances, by which means it was believed that Jupiter made known his will. Great skill was required in the "taking of the auspices," as it was called. No business of importance, public or private, was entered upon without first consulting the auspices, to ascertain whether they were favorable. The public assembly, for illustration, must not convene, to elect officers or to enact laws, unless

the auspices had been taken and found propitious. Should a peal of thunder occur while the people were holding a meeting, that was considered an unfavorable omen, and the assembly must instantly disperse.

It is easy to see how the power of the augurs might be used corruptly for political ends. At first all the members of the college were patricians, and very frequently they would prevent the plebeians from holding an assembly by giving out that the auspices were not favorable; and sometimes, when matters were not taking such a course in the popular assembly as suited the nobles, and some measure obnoxious to their order was on the point of being carried, they would secure an announcement from the augurs that Jupiter was thundering, or manifesting his displeasure in some other way; and the people were obliged to break up their meeting on the instant. One of the privileges contended for by the plebeians was admission to this college, that they might assist in watching the omens, and thus this important matter not be left entirely in the hands of their enemies.

The College of Pontiffs was so called probably because one of the duties of its members was to keep in repair the Bridge (*pons*) of Piles over the Tiber.¹ This was the most important of all the religious institutions of the Romans; for to the pontiffs belonged the superintendence of all religious matters. In their keeping, too, was the calendar, and they could lengthen or shorten the year, which power they sometimes used to extend the office of a favorite or to cut short that of one who had incurred their displeasure. The head of the college was called Pontifex Maximus, or the Chief Bridge-builder, which title was assumed by the Roman emperors, and after them by the Christian bishops of Rome; and thus the name has come down to our times.

The College of Heralds had the care of all public matters pertaining to foreign nations. If the Roman people had suffered any

¹See p. 226. It is possible that *pons* originally signified not "bridge," but "way" generally, and *pontifex* therefore meant "constructor of ways."—MOMMSEN.

wrong from another state, it was the duty of the heralds to demand satisfaction. If this was denied, and war determined upon, then a herald proceeded to the frontier of the enemy's country and hurled over the boundary a spear dipped in blood. This was a declaration of war. The Romans were very careful in the observance of this ceremony.

Sacred Games.—The Romans had many religious games and festivals. Prominent among these were the so-called Circensian



SUOVETAURILIA.

(A lustratory sacrifice of a bull, a sheep, and a swine, which ended a festival known as the *Ampurbale*, in which the fields were purified and blessed.)

Games, or Games of the Circus, which were very similar to the sacred games of the Greeks.¹ They consisted, in the main, of chariot-racing, wrestling, foot-racing, and various other athletic

These festivals, as in the case of those of the Greeks, had their

¹See *History of Greece*, p. 30.

origin in the belief that the gods delighted in the exhibition of feats of skill, strength, or endurance; that their anger might be appeased by such spectacles; or that they might be persuaded by the promise of games to lend aid to mortals in great emergencies. At the opening of the year it was customary for the Roman magistrate, in behalf of the people, to promise to the gods games and festivals, provided good crops, protection from pestilence, and victory were granted the Romans during the year. So, too, a general in great straits in the field might, in the name of the state, vow plays to the gods, and the people were sacredly bound to fulfil the promise. Plays given in fulfilment of vows thus made were called votive games.¹

Towards the close of the republic these games lost much of their religious character, and at last became degraded into mere brutal shows given by ambitious leaders for the purpose of winning popularity.

¹ The festival of the *Saturnalia* was celebrated in honor of Saturn, the god of sowing. It was an occasion on which all classes, including the slaves, who were allowed their freedom during the celebration, gave themselves up to riotous amusements; hence the significance we attach to the word *saturnalian*. The well-known Roman Carnival of to-day is a survival of the ancient *Saturnalia*.

LEGENDARY TALES PERTAINING TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF ROME.¹**ÆNEAS AND HIS TROJAN COMPANIONS ARRIVE IN ITALY.**

After Troy had been taken by the Greeks, Æneas, led by the Fates, came in search of a new home to the Laurentian² shores. King Latinus, when he learned that the leader of the band was Æneas, the son of Anchises by Venus, made a league of friendship with the strangers, and gave his daughter Lavinia in marriage to the Trojan hero. Æneas built a town which he called Lavinium, after the name of his wife.

The Trojans and the people of Latium were soon engaged in war with Turnus, king of the Rutulians, to whom Lavinia had been affianced before the coming of Æneas. In the battle that followed, the Rutulians were defeated, but King Latinus was killed; and thenceforth Æneas was king, not only of the Trojans, but also of the people over whom Latinus had ruled. To both nations he gave the common name of Latins.

Æneas was followed in the government by his son Ascanius, who, finding Lavinium too strait for its inhabitants, left that town, and built a new city on the Alban Mount, to which was given the name of Alba Longa. In this city ruled Ascanius and a long line of his descendants. At length, by force and violence, ruled Amulius. He had gained possession of the kingdom by dethroning his brother Numitor, putting to death his male offspring, and making his daughter, Rhea Sylvia, a vestal, in order that she should remain unmarried. But Rhea brought forth twins, of whom the god Mars was declared to be the father. The cruel king ordered the children to be thrown into the Tiber. Now it so happened that the river had overflowed its banks, and the cradle in which the children were borne was finally left on dry ground by the retiring flood. Attracted by the cries of the children, a she-wolf directed her course to them, and with the greatest tenderness fondled and nursed them. There, in the care of the wolf, a shepherd named Faustulus found them, and carried them home to his wife, to be reared with his own children.

¹ From Livy's *History of Rome*, I. and II. In this connection read Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*. As to the credibility of these legends, see further on, last chapter, paragraph headed "Lays and Ballads" of the *Legendary Age*.

² Laurentum.

When the boys had grown to be men, they put to death the usurper Amulius, and restored the throne to their grandfather Numitor. Numitor now reigned at Alba; but Romulus and Remus — for so the brothers were named — had a strong desire to build a city on the spot where they had been exposed and rescued. A shameful contest, however, arose between the brothers, as to which of the two should give name to the new city. It was determined that the matter should be decided by augury (see p. 219). Romulus chose the Palatine and Remus the Aventine Hill, from which to watch for the omens. To Remus first appeared six vultures; afterwards twelve appeared to Romulus. Hereupon each was proclaimed king by his followers, — Remus, on the ground that the birds had shown themselves to him first; Romulus, on the ground that the greater number had appeared to him. A quarrel ensuing, Remus was killed. Another account, however, says that Remus, when the walls of the new city had been raised to only a little height, leaped over them in derision; whereupon Romulus in anger slew him, at the same time uttering these words: "So perish every one that shall hereafter leap over my wall." The city was at length built, and was called Rome, from the name of its founder.

THE ROMANS CAPTURE THE SABINE WOMEN FOR WIVES.

The new city, having been made by Romulus a sort of asylum or refuge for the discontented and the outlawed of all the surrounding states, soon became very populous, and more powerful than either Lavinium or Alba Longa. But there were few women among its inhabitants. Romulus therefore sent embassies to the neighboring cities to ask that his people might take wives from among them. But the adjoining nations were averse to entering into marriage alliances with the men of the new city. Thereupon the Roman youth determined to secure by violence what they could not obtain by other means. Romulus appointed a great festival, and invited to the celebration all the surrounding peoples. The Sabines especially came in great numbers with their wives and daughters. In the midst of the games, the Roman youth, at a preconcerted signal, rushed among the spectators, and seized and carried off to their homes the daughters of their guests. This violation of the laws of hospitality led to a war on the part of the injured Sabines against the Romans. Peace, however, was made between the combatants by the young women themselves, who, as the wives of their captors, had become reconciled to their lot. The two

nations were now combined into one, the Sabines removing to one of the Seven Hills. Each people, however, retained its own king; but upon the death of the Sabine king, Titus Tatius, Romulus ruled over both the Romans and the Sabines. During a thunder-storm Romulus was caught up to the skies, and Numa Pompilius ruled in his stead.

THE COMBAT BETWEEN THE HORATHI AND THE CURIATHI.

In process of time a war broke out between Rome and Alba Longa. It might be called a civil war, for the Romans and Albans were alike descendants of the Trojans. The two armies were ready to engage in battle when it was proposed that the controversy should be decided by a combat between three Alban brothers named the Curiatii, and three Roman brothers known as the Horatii. The nation whose champions gained the victory was to rule over the other. On the signal being given, the combat began. Two of the Romans soon fell lifeless, and the three Curiatii were wounded. The remaining Roman, who was unhurt, was now surrounded by the three Albans. To avoid their united attack, he turned and fled, thinking that they, being wounded, would almost certainly become separated in following him. This did actually happen; and when Horatius, looking back as he fled, saw the Curiatii to be following him at different intervals, he turned himself about and fell upon his pursuers, one after the other, and despatched them.

So in accordance with the terms of the treaty which the two cities had made, conditioned on the issue of the fight between the champions, Rome held dominion over Alba Longa. But the league between the Romans and the Albans was soon broken, and then the Romans, demolishing the houses of Alba Longa, carried off all the inhabitants to Rome, and incorporated them with the Roman state.¹

THE EXPLOIT OF HORATIUS COCLES.

After the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome, they besought Porcenna, king of Clusium, a powerful city of Etruria, to espouse their cause, and help them to regain the kingly power at Rome. Porcenna lent a favorable ear to their solicitations, and made war upon the Roman state. As his army drew near to Rome, all the people from

¹ For the sequel of this story, see Livy, I. 26.

the surrounding country hastened within the city gates. The bravery of a single man, Horatius Cocles, alone prevented the enemy from effecting an entrance into the city. This man was posted as a guard on the Sublician Bridge (that is, "bridge of piles"), which led across the Tiber from the citadel of the Janiculum. The Janiculum having been taken by the enemy, its defenders were retreating in great disorder across the bridge, and the victors following close after. Horatius Cocles called after his fleeing companions to break down the bridge, while he held the pursuers at bay. Taking his stand at the farther entrance of the bridge, he, with the help of two comrades, held the enemy in check, while the structure was being destroyed. As the bridge fell with a crash into the stream, Cocles leaped into the water, and amidst a shower of darts swam in safety to the Roman side. Through his bravery he had saved Rome. His grateful countrymen erected a statue to his honor in the Comitium, and voted him a plot of land as large as he could plow in a single day.

THE FORTITUDE OF MUCIUS SÆVOLA.

Failing to take Rome by assault, Porsenna endeavored to reduce it by a regular siege. After the investment had been maintained for a considerable time, a Roman youth, Gaius Mucius by name, resolved to deliver the city from the presence of the besiegers by going into the camp of the enemy and killing Porsenna. Through a mistake, however, he slew the secretary of the king instead of the king himself. He was seized and brought into the presence of Porsenna, who threatened him with punishment by fire unless he made a full disclosure of the Roman plots. Mucius, to show the king how little he could be moved by threats, thrust his right hand into a flame that was near, and held it there unflinchingly until it was consumed. Porsenna was so impressed by the fortitude of the youth, that he dismissed him without punishment. From the loss of his right hand, Mucius received the surname of Sævola; that is, The Left-handed.

The sequel of the story is that Porsenna, having learned from Mucius that three hundred Roman youth had entered into a vow to sacrifice themselves, if need be, in order to compass his death, made a treaty of peace with the Romans and withdrew his army from before their city.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY ROMAN REPUBLIC: CONQUEST OF ITALY.

(509-464 B.C.)

✓ **The First Consuls.**—With the monarchy overthrown and the last king and his house banished from Rome, the people set to work to reorganize the government. In place of the king, there were elected (by the *comitia centuriata*, in which assembly the plebeians had a place) two patrician magistrates, called consuls,¹ who were chosen for one year, and were invested with almost all the powers, save some priestly functions, that had been held by the monarch during the regal period.

In public each consul was attended by twelve servants, called lictors, each of whom bore an axe bound in a bundle of rods (*fascēs*), the symbols of the authority of the consul to flog and to put to death. Within the limits of the city, however, the axe must be removed from the *fascēs*, by which was indicated that no Roman citizen could be put to death by the consuls without the consent of the public assembly.²

Lucius Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus were the first consuls under the new constitution. But it is said that the very name of Tarquinius was so intolerable to the people that he was forced to resign the consulship, and that he and all his house were

¹ That is, *colleagues*. Each consul had the power of obstructing the acts or vetoing the commands of the other. In times of great public danger the consuls were superseded by a special officer called a *dictator*, whose term of office was limited to six months, but whose power during this time was as unlimited as that of the kings had been.

² Each consul also had an assistant who bore the name of *quaestor*. The duties of the quaestor were at first chiefly of a judicial character, but later they became in the main of a financial nature.

driven out of Rome.¹ Another consul, Publius Valerius, was chosen in his stead.

First Secession of the Plebeians (494 B.C.).—Taking advan-



LICTORS.

tage of the disorders that followed the political revolution, the Latin towns which had been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome rose in revolt, and the result was that almost all the con-

¹ The truth is, he was related to the exiled royal family, and the people were distrustful of his loyalty to the republic.

quests that had been made under the kings were lost. For a long time the little republic had to struggle hard for bare existence.¹

Troubles without brought troubles within. The poor plebeians, during this period of disorder and war, fell in debt to the wealthy class,—for the Roman soldier went to war at his own charge, equipping and feeding himself,—and payment was exacted with heartless severity. A debtor became the absolute property of his creditor, who might sell him as a slave to pay the debt, and in some cases even put him to death.² All this was intolerable. The plebeians determined to secede from Rome and build a new city for themselves on a neighboring eminence, called afterwards the Sacred Hill. They marched away in a body from Rome to the chosen spot, and began making preparations for erecting new homes (494 B.C.).

The Covenant and the Tribunes.—The patricians saw clearly that such a division must prove ruinous to the state, and that the plebeians must be persuaded to give up their enterprise and come back to Rome. The consul Valerius was sent to treat with the

¹ The Romans had to fight both the Latins and the Etruscans. A great victory gained by the Romans at Lake Regillus, 496 B.C., ended the war, and secured the future of Rome.

² Livy draws the following picture to show the condition of the poor debtor. One day an old man, pale and emaciated, and clothed in rags, tottered into the Forum. To those that crowded about him to inquire the cause of his misery, he related this tale: While he had been away serving in the Sabine war, the crops on his little farm had been destroyed by the enemy, his house burnt, and his cattle driven off. To pay his taxes, he had been forced to run in debt; this debt, growing continually by usury, had consumed first his farm, a paternal inheritance, then the rest of his substance, and at length had laid hold of his own person. He had been thrown into prison and beaten with stripes. He then showed the bystanders the marks of scourging upon his body, and at the same time displayed the scars of the wounds he had received in battle. Thereupon a great tumult arose, and the people, filled with indignation, ran together from all sides into the Forum. II. 23.

Compare the condition of the Roman debtors with that of the same class at Athens before the reforms of Solon. See *History of Greece*, p. 52.

insurgents. The plebeians were at first obstinate, but at last were persuaded to yield to the entreaties of the embassy to return, being won to his mind, so it is said, by one of the wise senators, Menenius, who made use of the well-known fable of the Body and the Members.

The following covenant was entered into, and bound by the most solemn oaths and vows before the gods: The debts of the poor plebeians were to be cancelled, and those held in slavery set free; and two magistrates (the number was soon increased to ten), called tribunes, whose duty it should be to watch over the plebeians, and protect them against the injustice, harshness, and partiality of the patrician magistrates, were to be chosen from the commons. The persons of these officers were made sacred. Any one interrupting a tribune in the discharge of his duties, or doing him any violence, was declared an outlaw, whom any one might kill. That the tribunes might be always easily found, they were not allowed to go more than one mile beyond the city walls. Their houses were to be open night as well as day, that any plebeian unjustly dealt with might flee thither for protection and refuge.

We cannot overestimate the importance of the change effected in the Roman constitution by the creation of this office of the tribunate. Under the protection and leadership of the tribunes, who were themselves protected by oaths of inviolable sanctity, the plebeians carried on a struggle for a share in the offices and dignities of the state which never ceased until the Roman government, as yet only republican in name, became in fact a real democracy, in which patrician and plebeian shared equally in all emoluments and privileges.

Coriolanus.—The tradition of Coriolanus illustrates in what manner the tribunes cared for the rights of the common people and protected them from the oppression of the nobles. During a severe famine at Rome, Gelon, the king of Syracuse, sent large quantities of grain to the capital for distribution among the suffering poor. A certain patrician, Coriolanus by name, made a proposal

that none of the grain should be given to the plebeians save on condition that they gave up their tribunes. These officials straightway summoned him before the plebeian assembly,¹ on the charge of having broken the solemn covenant of the Sacred Mount, and so bitter was the feeling against him that he was obliged to flee from Rome.

He now allied himself with the Volscians,² enemies of Rome, and even led their armies against his native city. An embassy from the Senate was sent to him, to sue for peace. But the spirit of Coriolanus was bitter and revengeful, and he would listen to none of their proposals. Nothing availed to move him until his mother, at the head of a train of Roman matrons, came to his tent, and with tears pleaded with him to spare the city. Her entreaties and the "soft prayers" of his own wife and children prevailed, and with the words, "Mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son," he led away the Volscian army.

Cincinnatus made Dictator.—The enemies of Rome, taking advantage of the dissensions of the nobles and commons, pressed upon the frontiers of the republic on all sides. In 458 B.C., the Æquians, while one of the consuls was away fighting the Sabines, defeated the forces of the other, and shut them up in a narrow valley, whence escape seemed impossible. There was great terror in Rome when news of the situation of the army was brought to the city.

The Senate immediately appointed Cincinnatus, a grand old patrician, dictator. The ambassadors that carried to him the mes-

¹ This was the *Concilium Tributum Plebis*, an assembly which was established 471 B.C., by what is known as the Publilian Law. It was made up wholly of plebeians, and was presided over by the tribunes. Later, there came into existence another tribal assembly, which was composed of patricians and plebeians, and presided over by consuls or praetors. Some authorities are inclined to regard these two assemblies as one and the same body; but others, among whom is Mommsen, with probably better reason, look upon them as two distinct organizations.

² For the location of the Volscians, the Æquians, and the other enemies of Rome during this period, see map, p. 235.

sage from the Senate found him upon his little farm near the Tiber, at work behind the plough. Accepting the office at once, he hastily gathered an army, marched to the relief of the consul, captured the entire army of the Æquians, and sent them beneath the yoke.¹ Cincinnatus then led his army back to Rome in triumph, laid down his office, and sought again the retirement of his farm.

The Decemvirs and the Tables of Laws. — Written laws are always a great safeguard against oppression. Until what shall constitute a crime and what shall be its penalty are clearly written down, and well known and understood by all, judges may render unfair decisions, or inflict unjust punishment, and yet run little risk—unless they go altogether too far—of being called to an account; for no one but themselves knows what the law or the penalty really is. Hence in all struggles of the people against the tyranny of the ruling class, the demand for written laws is one of the first measures taken by the people for the protection of their persons and property. Thus we have seen the people of Athens, early in their struggle with the nobles, demanding and obtaining a code of written laws.² The same thing now took place at Rome. The plebeians demanded that a code of laws be drawn up, in accordance with which the consuls, who exercised judicial powers, should render their decisions. The patricians offered a stubborn resistance to their wishes, but finally were forced to yield to the popular clamor.

A commission was sent to the Greek cities of Southern Italy and to Athens to study the Grecian laws and customs. Upon the return of this embassy, a commission of ten magistrates, who were known as decemvirs, was appointed to frame a code of laws (451 B.C.). These officers, while engaged in this work, were also to administer the entire government, and so were invested with the supreme power of the state. The patricians gave up their

¹ This was formed of two spears thrust firmly into the ground and crossed a few feet from the earth by a third. Prisoners of war were forced to pass beneath this yoke as a symbol of submission.

² See *History of Greece*, pp. 50, 52.

consuls and the plebeians their tribunes. At the end of the first year, the task of the board was quite far from being finished, so a new decemvirate was elected to complete the work. Appius Claudius was the only member of the old board that was returned to the new.

The code was soon finished, and the laws were written on twelve tablets of bronze, which were fastened to the Rostra, or orator's platform in the Forum, where they might be seen and read by all. These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were to Roman jurisprudence what the good laws of Solon¹ were to the Athenian constitution. They formed the basis of all new legislation for many centuries, and constituted a part of the education of the Roman youth — every school-boy being required to learn them by heart.

Especially influential were the Laws of the Twelve Tables in helping to establish social and civil equality between the patricians and plebeians. They tended to efface the social distinctions that had hitherto existed between the two orders, and helped to draw them together into a single people; for up to this time the relations of the plebeians to the patricians, notwithstanding the reforms of Servius Tullius, had been rather those of foreigners than of fellow-citizens.²

¹See *History of Greece*, p. 52.

²For illustration, up to this time the plebeians had not been allowed to intermarry with the patricians. This was in strict accord with the general rule among the ancients, that the citizens of one city should have no social dealings with those of another. Only a few years, however, after the drawing up of the code, and owing in part at least to its influence, a law known, from the tribune (Gaius Canuleius) who secured its passage, as the Canuleian Law, gave the plebeians the right to intermarry with the patricians. There was now civil and social equality established between the two orders. The plebeians next engaged in a struggle for political rights and political equality (see p. 240). These long contests carried on by the plebeians for civil, social, and political rights, and their gradual admission to the privileges from which they had been excluded, may be well illustrated by the case of the freedmen among us, who, by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to our Constitution, were admitted first to the civil and then to the political rights and privileges of American citizens.

✓ **Misrule and Overthrow of the Decemvirs.** — The first decemvirs used the great power lodged in their hands with justice and prudence; but the second board, under the leadership of Appius Claudius, instituted a most infamous and tyrannical rule. No man's life was safe, be he patrician or plebeian. An ex-tribune, daring to denounce the course of the decemvirs, was caused by them to be assassinated. Another act, even more outrageous than this, filled to the brim the cup of their iniquities. Virginia was the beautiful daughter of a plebeian, and Appius Claudius, desiring to gain possession of her, made use of his authority as a judge to pronounce her a slave. The father of the maiden, preferring the death of his daughter to her dishonor, killed her with his own hand. Then, drawing the weapon from her breast, he hastened to the army, which was resisting a united invasion of the Sabines and Æquians, and, exhibiting the bloody knife, told the story of the outrage.¹ The soldiers rose as a single man and hurried to the city. The excitement resulted in a great body of the Romans, soldiers and citizens, probably chiefly plebeians, seceding from the state, and marching away to the Sacred Hill. This procedure, which once before had proved so effectual in securing justice to the oppressed, had a similar issue now. The situation was so critical that the decemvirs were forced to resign. The consulate and the tribunate were restored. Eight of the decemvirs were forced to go into exile; Appius Claudius and one other, having been imprisoned, committed suicide (450 B.C.).

✓ **Consular, or Military Tribunes.** — The overthrow of the decemvirate was followed by a bitter struggle between the nobles and the commons, which was an effort on the part of the latter to gain admission to the consulship; for up to this time only a patrician could hold that office. The contention resulted in a compromise. It was agreed that, in place of the two consuls, the people *might* elect from either order magistrates that should be known as

¹ Livy, III. 44-50. This tale is possibly mythical, but it at least gives a vivid, and doubtless truthful, picture of the times.

and secession
see rise to a new law
Valerius



THE AGER ROMANUS AND THE LATIN CONFEDERACY

In the time of the early Republic, about B.C. 450.

SCALE OF MILES
0 5 10 15

The Ager Romanus.

The Latin Confederacy.

The original domain of the city of Rome.

1. The Pass of Anagnin.

2. The Alban Mount.

3. Mount Soracte.

Lower rise Anagnin Pass
Valley of the Tiber

"military tribunes with consular powers." These officers, whose number varied, differed from consuls more in name than in functions or authority. In fact, the plebeians had gained the office, but not the name¹ (444 B.C.).

The Censors. — No sooner had the plebeians secured the right of admission to the tribunate with consular powers, than the jealous and exclusive patricians began scheming to rob them of the fruit of the victory they had gained. They effected this by taking from the consulate some of its most distinctive duties and powers, and conferring them upon two new patrician officers called *censors*. The functions of these magistrates were many and important. They took the census, and thus assigned to every man his position in the different classes of the citizens; and they could, for immorality or any improper conduct, not only degrade a man from his rank, but deprive him of his vote. It was their duty to watch the public morals and in case of necessity to administer wholesome advice. Thus we are told of their reproving the Roman youths for wearing tunics with long sleeves — an Oriental and effeminate custom — and for neglecting to marry upon arriving at a proper age. From the name of these Roman officers comes our word *censorious*, meaning fault-finding.

The first censors were elected probably in the year 444 B.C.: about one hundred years afterwards, in 351 B.C., the plebeians secured the right of holding this office also.

Siege and Capture of Veii. — We must now turn our attention to the fortunes of Rome in war. Almost from the founding of the city, we find its warlike citizens carrying on a fierce contest with their powerful Etruscan neighbors on the north. Veii was one of the

¹ The patricians were especially unwilling that the plebeians should receive the name, for the reason that an ex-consul enjoyed certain dignities and honors, such as the right to wear a particular kind of dress and to set up in his house images of his ancestors. These honorary distinctions the higher order were jealous of retaining exclusively for themselves. Owing to the great influence of the patricians in the elections, it was not until about 400 B.C. that a plebeian was chosen to the new office.

largest and richest of the cities of Etruria. Around this the war gathered. The Romans, like the Grecians at Troy, attacked its walls for ten years. The length of the siege, and the necessity of maintaining a force permanently in the field, led to the establishment of a paid standing army; for hitherto the soldier had not only equipped himself, but had served without pay. Thus was laid the basis of that military power which was destined to effect the conquest of the world, and then, in the hands of ambitious and favorite generals, to overthrow the republic itself.

The capture of Veii by the dictator Camillus (396 B.C.) was followed by that of many other Etruscan towns. Rome was enriched by their spoils, and became the centre of a large and lucrative trade. The frontiers of the republic were pushed out even beyond the utmost limits of the kingdom before its overthrow.¹ All that was lost by the revolution had been now regained, and much besides had been won. At this moment there broke upon the city a storm from the north, which all but cut short the story we are narrating.

Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.).—We have already mentioned



ETRUSCAN ARCHER.



ROMAN SOLDIER.

¹ Trace the gradual growth of the Roman domain (*Ager Romanus*) by a comparative study of the sketch-maps on pp. 235, 242, 263. Note, also, the increase in the number of Latin colonies between the dissolution of the Latin Confederacy (see p. 244) and the Second Punic War, as shown by the last two maps.

how, in very remote times, the tribes of Gaul crossed the Alps and established themselves in Northern Italy (see p. 209). While the Romans were conquering the towns of Etruria, these barbarian hordes were moving southward, and overrunning and devastating the countries of Central Italy.

News was brought to Rome that they were advancing upon that city. A Roman army met them on the banks of the river Allia, eleven miles from the capital. The Romans were driven in great panic from the field. It would be impossible to picture the consternation and despair that reigned at Rome when the fugitives brought to the city intelligence of the terrible disaster. It was never forgotten, and the day of the battle of the Allia was ever after a black day in the Roman calendar. The sacred vessels of the temples were buried; the eternal fires of Vesta were hurriedly borne by their virgin keepers to a place of safety in Etruria; and a large part of the population fled in dismay across the Tiber. No attempt was made to defend any portion of the city save the citadel.

When the Gauls entered the city they found everything abandoned to them. The aged senators, so the Romans afterwards proudly related, thinking it unworthy of their office to seek safety in flight, resolved to meet death in a befitting way. Arrayed in their robes of office, each with his ivory-headed wand in his hand, they seated themselves in the Forum, in their chairs of state, and there sat, "silent and motionless as statues," while the barbarians were carrying on their work of sack and pillage about them. The rude Gauls, arrested by the venerable aspect of the white-haired senators, gazed in awe upon them, and offered them no violence. But finally one of the barbarians laid his hand upon the beard of the venerable Papirius, to stroke it under an impulse of childlike reverence. The aged senator, interpreting the movement as an insult, struck the Gaul with his sceptre. The spell was instantly broken. The enraged barbarians struck Papirius from his seat, and then falling upon the other senators massacred them all.

The little garrison within the Capitol, under the command of the hero Manlius, for seven months resisted all the efforts of the Gauls to dislodge them. A tradition tells how, when the barbarians, under cover of the darkness of night, had climbed the steep rock, and had almost effected an entrance to the citadel, the defenders were awakened by the cackling of some geese, which the piety of the famishing soldiers had spared, because these birds were sacred to Juno.

News was now brought the Gauls that the Venetians were overrunning their possessions in Northern Italy. This led them to open negotiations with the Romans. For one thousand pounds of gold, according to the historian Livy, the Gauls agreed to retire from the city. As the story runs, while the gold was being weighed out in the Forum, the Romans complained that the weights were false, when Brennus, the Gallic leader, threw his sword also into the scales, exclaiming, "*Vae Victis!*" "Woe to the vanquished." Just at this moment, so the tale continues, Camillus, a brave patrician general, appeared upon the scene with a Roman army that had been gathered from the fugitives; and, as he scattered the barbarians with heavy blows, he exclaimed, "Rome is ransomed with steel, and not with gold." According to one account Brennus himself was taken prisoner; but another tradition says that he escaped, carrying with him not only the ransom, but a vast booty besides.

The Rebuilding of Rome. — When the fugitives returned to Rome after the withdrawal of the Gauls, they found the city a heap of ruins. Some of the poorer classes, shrinking from the labor of rebuilding their old homes, proposed to abandon the site and make Veii their new capital. But love for the old spot at last prevailed over all the persuasions of indolence, and the people, with admirable courage, set themselves to the task of rebuilding their homes. It was a repetition of the scene at Athens after the retreat of the Persians.¹ The city was speedily restored, and was

¹ See *History of Greece*, p. 74.

soon enjoying her old position of supremacy among the surrounding states. There were some things, however, which even Roman resolution and energy could not restore. These were the ancient records and documents, through whose irreparable loss the early history of Rome is involved in great obscurity and uncertainty.

Treason and Death of Manlius. — The ravages of the Gauls left the poor plebeians in a most pitiable condition. In order to rebuild their dwellings and restock their farms, they were obliged to borrow money of the rich patricians, and consequently soon began again to experience the insult and oppression that were ever incident to the condition of the debtor class at Rome.

The patrician Manlius, the hero of the brave defence of the Capitol, now came forward as the champion of the plebeians. He sold the larger part of his estates, and devoted the proceeds to the relief of the debtor class. It seems evident that in thus undertaking the cause of the commons he had personal aims and ambitions. The patricians determined to crush him. He was finally brought to trial before the popular assembly, on the charge of conspiring to restore the office of king. From the Forum, where the people were gathered, the Capitol, which Manlius had so bravely defended against the barbarians, was in full sight. Pointing to the temples he had saved, he appealed to the gods and to the gratitude of the Roman people. The people responded to the appeal in a way altogether natural. They refused to condemn him. But brought to trial a second time, and now in a grove whence the citadel could not be seen, he was sentenced to death, and was thrown from the Tarpeian Rock.¹ This event occurred 384 B.C.

Plebeians admitted to the Consulship. — For nearly half a century after the death of Manlius the most important events in the

¹ The Tarpeian Rock was the name given to the cliff which the Capitoline Hill formed on the side towards the Tiber (or towards the Palatine, according to some). It received its name from Tarpela, daughter of one of the legendary keepers of the citadel. State criminals were frequently executed by being thrown from this rock.

history of Rome centre about the struggle of the plebeians for admission to those offices of the government whence the jealousy of the patricians still excluded them. The Licinian Laws, so called from one of their proposers, the tribune C. Licinius, besides relieving the poor of usurious interest, and effecting a more just division of the public lands, also provided that consuls should be chosen yearly, as at first (see p. 234), and that one of the consuls should be a plebeian. This last provision opened to any one of the plebeian class the highest office in the state. The nobles, when they saw that it would be impossible to resist the popular demand, had recourse to the old device. They effected a compromise, whereby the judicial powers of the consuls were taken from them and conferred upon a new magistrate, who bore the name of *prætor*. Only patricians, of course, were to be eligible to this new office. They then permitted the Licinian Laws to pass (367 B.C.).

During the latter half of the fourth century B.C. (between the years 356-300) the plebeians gained admittance to the dictatorship, the censorship, the prætorship, and to the College of Augurs and the College of Pontiffs. They had been admitted to the College of Priests having charge of the Sibylline books, at the time of the passing of the Licinian Laws. With plebeians in all these positions, the rights of the lower order were fairly secured against oppressive and partisan decisions on the part of the magistrates, and against party fraud in the taking of the auspices and in the regulation of the calendar. There was now political equality between the nobility and the commonalty.

WARS FOR THE MASTERY OF ITALY.

The First Samnite War (343-341 B.C.).—The union of the two orders in the state allowed the Romans now to employ their undivided strength in subjugating the different states of the peninsula. The most formidable competitors of the Romans for supremacy in Italy were the Samnites, rough and warlike mountaineers who held the Apennines to the east of Latium. They were worthy rivals of



the "Children of Mars." The successive struggles between these martial races are known as the First, Second, and Third Samnite wars. They extended over a period of half a century, and in their course involved almost all the states of Italy.

Of the first of this series of wars we know very little, although Livy wrote a long, but unfortunately very unreliable, narration of it. In the midst of the struggle, Rome was confronted by a dangerous revolt of her Latin allies, and, leaving the war unfinished, turned her forces upon the insurgents.

Revolt of the Latin Cities (340-338 B.C.).—The strife between the Romans and their Latin allies was simply the old contest within the walls of the capital between the patricians and the plebeians transferred to a larger arena. As the nobles had oppressed the commons, so now both these orders united in the oppression of the Latins—the plebeians in their bettered circumstances forgetting the lessons of adversity. The Latin allies demanded a share in the government, and that the lands acquired by conquest should be distributed among them as well as among Roman citizens. The Romans refused. All Latium rose in revolt against the injustice and tyranny of the oppressor. After about three years' hard fighting, the rebellion was sub-



SAMNITE WARRIOR. (From a Vase.)

duced. The Latin League was now broken up. Four of the towns¹ retained their independence; the others, however, were made a part of the Roman domain. The inhabitants of some of these latter cities were admitted to full Roman citizenship, but those of the remainder were reduced virtually to the condition of subjects.² Rome, in a word, had converted the confederacy into an empire, just as Athens a hundred years earlier converted the Delian League into an imperial domain.³

Second and Third Samnite Wars (326-290 B.C.).—In a few years after the close of the Latin contest, the Romans were at war again with their old rivals, the Samnites. Notwithstanding the latter were thoroughly defeated in this second contest, still it was not long before they were again in arms and engaged in their third struggle with Rome. This time they had formed a powerful coalition which embraced the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Gauls, and other nations.

Roman courage rose with the danger. The united armies of the league met with a most disastrous defeat (at Sentinum, 295 B.C.), and the power of the coalition was broken. One after another the states that had joined the alliance were chastised. The Gauls were routed, the Etruscans were crushed, and the Samnites were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. A few years later, almost all of the Greek cities of Southern Italy, save Tarentum, also came under the growing power of the imperial city.

War with Pyrrhus (282-272 B.C.).—Tarentum was one of the most noted of the Hellenic cities of Magna Græcia. It was a

¹ Tibur, Præneste, Cora, and Laurentum. Compare maps on pp. 235, 242.

² They retained, however, the right of managing their own local affairs. "A town annexed to Rome on these terms, losing its sovereignty and becoming a part of the Roman state, but retaining self-government in local concerns, was called a *municipium*. This device, the *municipality*, for combining local self-government with imperial relations, is the most important contribution made by Rome to political science."—ALLEN'S *Short History of the Roman People*, p. 82.

³ See *History of Greece*, p. 79.

seaport on the Calabrian coast, and had grown opulent through the extended trade of its merchants. The capture of some Roman vessels, and an insult offered to an envoy of the republic by the Tarentines, led to a declaration of war against them by the Roman Senate. The Tarentines turned to Greece for aid. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, cousin of Alexander the Great, who had an ambition to build up such an empire in the West as his famous kinsman had established in the East, responded to their entreaties, and crossed over into Italy with a small army of Greek mercenaries and twenty war elephants. He organised and drilled the effeminate Tarentines, and soon felt prepared to face the Romans.

The hostile armies met at Heraclea (280 B.C.). It is said that when Pyrrhus, who had underestimated his foe, observed the skill which the Romans evinced in forming their lines of battle, he exclaimed, in admiration, "In war, at least, these men are not barbarians." The battle was won for Pyrrhus by his war elephants, the sight of which, being new to the Romans, caused them to flee from the field in dismay. But Pyrrhus had lost thousands of his bravest troops. Victories gained by such losses in a country where he could not recruit his army, he saw clearly, meant final defeat. As he looked over the battle-field he is said to have turned to his companions and remarked, "Another such victory and I must return to Epirus alone." He noticed also, and not without appreciating its significance, that the wounds of the Roman soldiers killed in the action were all in front. "Had I such soldiers," said he, "I should soon be master of the world."¹

The prudence of the victorious Pyrrhus led him to send to the Romans proposals of peace. The embassy was headed by his chief minister, Cineas, of whom Pyrrhus himself often said, "The eloquence of Cineas wins me more victories than my sword."

¹ Beneath the spoils which he hung as an offering in the Temple of Jupiter at Tarentum he placed this inscription:—

"Those that had never been vanquished yet, Great Father of Olympi,
Those have I vanquished in the fight, and they have vanquished me!"

When the Senate hesitated, its resolution was fixed by the eloquence of the aged Appius Claudius: "Rome," exclaimed he, "shall never treat with a victorious foe." The ambassadors were obliged to return to Pyrrhus unsuccessful in their mission. It was at this time that Cineas, in answer to some inquiries of his master respecting the Romans, drew the celebrated parallels that likened their Senate to an assembly of kings, and war against such a people to an attack upon another Hydra.

Pyrrhus, according to the Roman story-tellers, who most lavishly embellished this chapter of their history, was not more successful in attempts at bribery than in the arts of negotiation. Attempting by large offers of gold to win Fabricius, who had been intrusted by the Senate with an important embassy, the sturdy old Roman replied, "Poverty, with an honest name, is more to be desired than wealth."

Another story relates how, when the physician of Pyrrhus went to Fabricius and offered to poison his enemy, Fabricius instantly put the perfidious man in chains, and sent him back to his master for punishment. The sequel of this story is that Pyrrhus conceived such an exalted opinion of the Roman sense of honor that he permitted the prisoners in his hands to go to the capital to attend a festival, with no other security for their return than their simple promise, and that not a single man broke his word.

After a second victory, as disastrous as his first, Pyrrhus crossed over into Sicily, to aid the Grecians there in their struggle with the Carthaginians. At first he was everywhere successful; but finally fortune turned against him, and he was glad to escape from the island. Recrossing the straits into Italy, he once more engaged the Romans, but at the battle of Beneventum suffered a disastrous and final defeat at the hands of the consul Curius Dentatus (274 B.C.). Leaving a sufficient force to garrison Tarentum, the baffled and disappointed king set sail for Epirus. He had scarcely embarked before Tarentum surrendered to the Romans (272 B.C.). This ended the struggle for the mastery of Italy. Rome was now mistress of all the peninsula south of the Arnus

and the Rubicon. It was now her care to consolidate these possessions, and to fasten her hold upon them by means of a perfect network of colonies¹ and military roads.

¹ "Colonies were not all of the same character. They must be distinguished into two classes,—the colonies of Roman citizens and the Latin colonies. The colonies of Roman citizens consisted usually of three hundred men of approved military experience, who went forth with their families to occupy conquered cities of no great magnitude, but which were important as military positions, being usually on the sea-coast. These three hundred families formed a sort of patrician caste, while the old inhabitants sank into the condition formerly occupied by the plebeians at Rome. The heads of these families retained all their rights as Roman citizens, and might repair to Rome to vote in the popular assemblies." — LIDDELL's *History of Rome*.

The Latin colonies numbered about twenty at the time of the Second Punic War. A few of these were colonies that had been founded by the old Latin Confederacy; but the most were towns that had been established by Rome subsequent to the dissolution of the league (see p. 244). The term Latin was applied to these later colonies of purely Roman origin, for the reason that they enjoyed the same rights as the Latin towns that had retained their independence. Thus the inhabitants of a Latin colony possessed some of the most valuable of the private rights of Roman citizens, but they had no political rights at the capital.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

(264-241 B.C.)

Carthage and the Carthaginian Empire.—Foremost among the cities founded by the Phoenicians upon the different shores of the Mediterranean was Carthage, upon the northern coast of Africa. The city is thought to have had its beginnings in a small trading-post, established late in the ninth century B.C., about one hundred years before the legendary date of the founding of Rome. The favorable location of the colony, upon one of the best harbors of the African coast, gave the city a vast and lucrative commerce. At the period which we have now reached it had grown into an imperial city, covering, with its gardens and suburbs, a district twenty-three miles in circuit. It could not have contained less than 1,000,000 inhabitants. A commercial enterprise like that of the mother city, Tyre, and exactions from subject cities and states—for three hundred Libyan cities acknowledged the suzerainty of Carthage and paid tribute into its treasury—had rendered it enormously wealthy. In the third century before our era it was probably the richest city in the world.

By the time Rome had extended her authority over Italy, Carthage held sway, through peaceful colonization or by force of arms, over all the northern coast of Africa from the Greater Syrtis to the Pillars of Hercules, and possessed the larger part of Sicily, as well as Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Isles, Southern Spain, and scores of little islands scattered here and there in the neighboring seas. With all its shores dotted with her colonies and fortresses, and swept in every direction by the Carthaginian war-galleys, the Western Mediterranean had become a "Phœnician

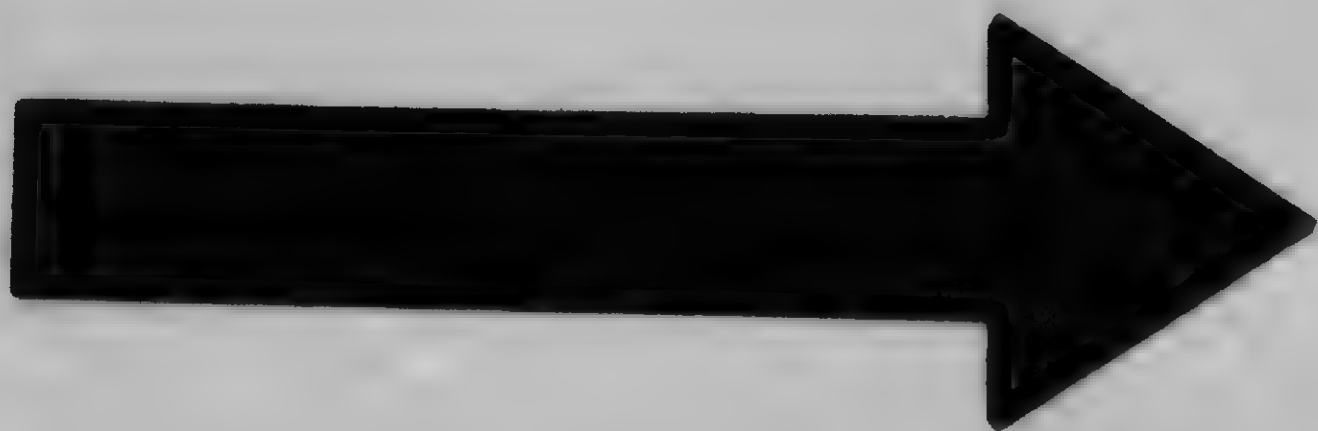
lake," in which, as the Carthaginians boasted, no one dared wash his hands without their permission.

Carthaginian Government and Religion.—The government of Carthage, like that of Rome, was republican in form. Corresponding to the Roman consuls, two magistrates, called "suffetes," stood at the head of the state. The Senate was composed of the heads of the leading families; its duties and powers were very like those of the Roman Senate. So well-balanced was the constitution, and so prudent was its administration, that six hundred years of Carthaginian history exhibited not a single revolution.

The religion of the Carthaginians was the old Canaanitish worship of Baal, or the Sun. To Moloch,—another name for the fire-god,—"who rejoiced in human victims and in parents' tears," they offered human sacrifices.

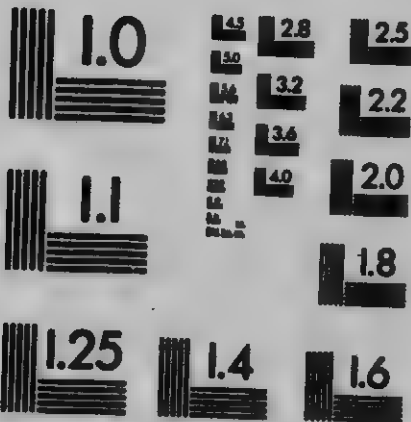
Rome and Carthage compared.—These two great republics, which for more than five centuries had been slowly extending their limits and maturing their powers upon the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, were now about to begin one of the most memorable struggles of all antiquity—a duel that was to last, with every vicissitude of fortune, for over one hundred years.

As was the case in the contest between Athens and Sparta, so now the two rival cities, with their allies and dependencies, were very nearly matched in strength and resources. The Romans, it is true, were almost destitute of a navy; while the Carthaginians had the largest and most splendidly equipped fleet that ever patrolled the waters of the Mediterranean. But although the Carthaginians were superior to the Romans in naval warfare, they were greatly their inferiors in land encounters. The Carthaginian territory, moreover, was widely scattered, embracing extended coasts and isolated islands; while the Roman possessions were compact, and confined to a single and easily defended peninsula. Again, the Carthaginian armies were formed chiefly of mercenaries, while those of Rome were recruited very largely from the ranks of the Roman people. And then the subject states of Carthage were mostly of another race, language, and religion from their Phoeni-



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cian conquerors, and were ready, upon the first disaster to the ruling city, to drop away from their allegiance; while the Latin allies and Italian dependencies of Rome were close kindred to her in race and religion, and so, through natural impulse, for the most part remained loyal to her during even the darkest periods of her struggle with her rival.

The Beginning of the War. — Lying between Italy and the coast of Africa is the large island of Sicily. It is in easy sight of the former, and its southernmost point is only ninety miles from the latter. At the commencement of the First Punic¹ War, the Carthaginians held possession of all the island save a strip of the eastern coast, which was under the sway of the Greek city of Syracuse. The Greeks and Carthaginians had carried on an almost uninterrupted struggle through two centuries for the control of the island. The Romans had not yet set foot upon it. But it was destined to become the scene of the most terrible encounters between the armaments of the two rivals. Pyrrhus had foreseen it all. As he withdrew from the island, he remarked, "What a fine battle-field we are leaving for the Romans and the Carthaginians."

In the year 264 B.C., on a flimsy pretext of giving protection to some friends,² the Romans crossed over to the island. That act

¹ From *Pœni*, Latin for Phœnicians, and hence applied by the Romans to the Carthaginians, as they were Phœnician colonists.

² During the war with Pyrrhus, some Campanians, who had been serving as mercenaries in the army of the king of Syracuse, while returning to Italy, conceived the project of seizing the town of Messana, on the Sicilian Straits. They killed the citizens, intrenched themselves in the place, and commenced to annoy the surrounding country with their marauding bands. Hiero, king of Syracuse, besieged the ruffians in their stronghold. The Mamertines, or "Sons of Mars," — for thus they termed themselves, — appealed to the Romans for aid, basing their claims to assistance upon the alleged fact of common descent from the war-god. Now the Romans had just punished a similar band of Campanian robbers who had seized Rhegium, on the Italian side of the channel. To turn about now and lend aid to the Sicilian band would be the greatest inconsistency. But in case they did not give the assistance asked, it was certain that the Mamertines would look to the Carthaginians for succor; and so Messana would come into the hands of their rivals.

committed them to a career of foreign conquest destined to continue till their arms had made the circuit of the Mediterranean.

The Syracusans and Carthaginians, old enemies and rivals though they had been, joined their forces against the insolent new-comers. The allies were completely defeated in the first battle, and the Roman army obtained a sure foothold upon the island.

In the following year both consuls were placed at the head of formidable armies for the conquest of Sicily. A large portion of the island was quickly overrun, and many of the cities threw off their allegiance to Syracuse and Carthage, and became allies of Rome. Hiero, king of Syracuse, seeing that he was upon the losing side, deserted the cause of the Carthaginians, and formed an alliance with the Romans, and ever after remained their firm friend.

The Romans build their First Fleet.— Their experience during the past campaigns had shown the Romans that if they were to cope successfully with the Carthaginians they must be able to meet them upon the sea as well as upon the land. Not only did the Carthaginian ships annoy the Sicilian coast towns which were already in the hands of the Romans, but they even made descents upon the shores of Italy, ravaged the fields and villages, and sailed away with their booty before pursuit was possible. To guard their shores and ward off these attacks, the Romans had no fleet. Their Greek and Etruscan allies were, indeed, maritime peoples, and possessed considerable fleets, which were at the disposal of the Romans. But these vessels were merely triremes, galleys with three banks of oars; while the Carthaginian ships were quinqueremes, or vessels with five rows of oars. The former were worthless to cope with the latter, such an advantage did these have in their greater weight and height. So the Romans determined to build a fleet of quinqueremes.

Now it so happened that, a little while before, a Carthaginian galley had been wrecked upon the shore of Southern Italy. This served as a pattern. It is said that within the almost incredibly

short space of sixty days a growing forest was converted into a fleet of one hundred and twenty war-galleys. While the ships were building, the Roman soldiers were being trained in the duties of sailors by practising in rowing, while sitting in lines on tiers of benches built on the land. With the shore ringing with the sounds of the hurried work upon the galleys, and crowded with the groups of "make-believe rowers," the scene must have been a somewhat animated as well as ludicrous one. Yet it all meant very serious business.

The Romans gain their First Naval Victory (260 B.C.).—The consul C. Duillius was intrusted with the command of the fleet. He met the Carthaginian squadron near the city and promontory of Mylæ, on the northern coast of Sicily. A single precaution gave the victory to the Romans. Distrusting their ability to match the skill of their enemies in manœuvring their ships, they had provided each with a drawbridge, over thirty feet in length, and wide enough for two persons to pass over it abreast. It was raised and lowered by means of pulleys attached to the mast. The Carthaginian galleys bore down swiftly upon the Roman ships, thinking to pierce and sink with their brazen beaks the clumsy-looking structures. The bridges alone saved the Roman fleet from destruction. As soon as a Carthaginian ship came near enough to a Roman vessel, the gangway was allowed to fall upon the approaching galley; and the long spike with which the end was armed, piercing the deck, instantly pinned the vessels together. The Roman soldiers, rushing along the bridge, were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with their enemies, in which species of encounter the former were sure of an easy victory. Fifty of the Carthaginian galleys were captured; the remainder—there were one hundred and thirty ships in the fleet—wisely refusing to rush into the terrible and fatal embrace in which they had seen their companions locked, turned their prows in flight.

The Romans had gained their first naval victory. The joy at Rome was unbounded. It inspired, in the more sanguine, splendid visions of maritime command and glory. The Medi-

terranean should speedily become a Roman lake, in which no vessel might float without the consent of Rome. Duillius was honored with a magnificent triumph, and the Senate ordained that, in passing through the city to his home at night, he should always be escorted with torches and music. In the Forum was raised a splendid memorial column, "adorned with the brazen beaks of the vessels which his wise ignorance and his clumsy skill had enabled him to capture."

The Romans carry the War into Africa. — The results of the naval engagement at Mylæ encouraged the Romans to push the war with redoubled energy. They resolved to carry it into Africa. An immense Carthaginian fleet that disputed the passage of the Roman squadron was almost annihilated,¹ and the Romans disembarked near Carthage. Atilius Regulus, one of the consuls who led the army of invasion, sent word to Rome that he had "sealed up the gates of Carthage with terror." Finally, however, Regulus suffered a crushing defeat and was made prisoner.² A fleet which was sent to bear away the remnants of the shattered army was wrecked in a terrific storm off the coast of Sicily, and the shores of the island were strewn with the wreckage of between two and three hundred ships and with the bodies of 100,000 men.

Undismayed at the terrible disaster that had overtaken the



THE COLUMN OF DUILLIUS.
(A Restoration.)

¹ Near the Sicilian promontory of Ecnomus, 256 B.C.

² The Carthaginians were at this time commanded by an able Spartan general, Xanthippus, who, with a small but disciplined band of Greek mercenaries, had entered their service.

transport fleet, the Romans set to work to build another, and made a second descent upon the African coast. The expedition, however, accomplished nothing of importance; and the fleet on its return voyage was almost destroyed, just off the coast of Italy, by a tremendous storm. The visions of naval supremacy awakened among the Romans by the splendid victories of Mylæ and Ecnomus were thus suddenly dispelled by these two successive and appalling disasters that had overtaken their armaments.

The Battle of Panormus (251 B.C.).—For a few years the Romans refrained from tempting again the hostile powers of the sea. Sicily became the battle-ground where the war was continued, although with but little spirit on either side, until the arrival in the island of the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal (251 B.C.). He brought with him one hundred and forty elephants, trained in war. Of all the instruments of death which the Roman soldiers were accustomed to face, none in the history of the legionaries inspired them with such uncontrollable terror as these "wild beasts," as they termed them. The furious rage with which these monsters, themselves almost invulnerable to the darts of the enemy, swept down the opposing ranks with their trunks, and tossed and trampled to pieces the bodies of their victims, was indeed well calculated to inspire a most exaggerated dread.

Beneath the walls of Panormus, the consul Metellus drew Hasdrubal into an engagement. He checked the terrific charge of the war elephants by discharges of arrows dipped in flaming pitch, which caused the frightened animals to rush back upon and crush through the disordered ranks of the Carthaginians. The result was a complete victory for the Romans. After the battle the Romans induced the drivers of the elephants, which were roaming over the field in a sort of panic, to capture and quiet the creatures. Once in captivity, they were floated across the Sicilian Straits on huge rafts, and to the number of twenty graced the triumphal procession of Metellus. After having been led through the Forum and along the Via Sacra, they were conducted to the Circus, and there slain in the presence of the assembled multitudes.

Regulus and the Carthaginian Embassy. — The result of the battle of Panormus dispirited the Carthaginians. They sent an embassy to Rome, to negotiate for peace, or, if that could not be reached, to effect an exchange of prisoners. Among the commissioners was Regulus, who since his capture, five years before, had been held a prisoner in Africa. Before setting out from Carthage he had promised to return if the embassy were unsuccessful. For the sake of his own release, the Carthaginians supposed he would counsel peace, or at least urge an exchange of prisoners. But it is related, that upon arrival at Rome, he counselled war instead of peace, at the same time revealing to the Senate the enfeebled condition of Carthage. As to the exchange of prisoners, he said, "Let those who have surrendered when they ought to have died, die in the land which has witnessed their disgrace."

The Roman Senate, following his counsel, rejected all the proposals of the embassy; and Regulus, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his wife and friends, turned away from Rome, and set out for Carthage to meet death, which he well knew the Carthaginians, in their disappointment and anger, would be sure to inflict on him.

The tradition goes on to tell how, upon his arrival at Carthage, he was confined in a cask driven full of spikes, and then left to die of starvation and pain. This part of the tale has been discredited, and the finest touches of the other portions are supposed to have been added by the story-tellers.

Loss of Two More Roman Fleets. — After the failure of the Carthaginian embassy, the war went on for several years by land and sea with many vicissitudes. At last, on the coast of Sicily, one of the consuls, Claudius, met with an overwhelming defeat.¹ Almost a hundred vessels of his fleet were lost. The disaster caused the greatest alarm at Rome. Superstition increased the fears of the people. It was reported that just before the battle,

¹ In a sea-fight at Drepana, 249 B.C.

when the auspices were being taken, and the sacred chickens would not eat, Claudius had given orders to have them thrown into the sea, irreverently remarking, "At any rate, they shall drink." Imagination was free to depict what further evils the offended gods might inflict upon the Roman state.

The gloomiest forebodings might have found justification in subsequent events. The other consul just now met with a great disaster. He was proceeding along the southern coast of Sicily with a squadron of eight hundred merchantmen and over one hundred war-galleys, the former loaded with grain for the Roman army on the island. A severe storm arising, the squadron was beaten to pieces upon the rocks. Not a single ship escaped. The coast for miles was strewn with broken planks, and with bodies, and heaped with vast windrows of grain cast up by the

Close of the First Punic War. — The war had now lasted for fifteen years. Four Roman fleets had been destroyed, three of which had been sunk or broken to pieces by storms. Of the fourteen hundred vessels which had been lost, seven hundred were war-galleys, — all large and costly quinqueremes, that is, vessels with five banks of oars. Only one hundred of these had fallen into the hands of the enemy; the remainder were a sacrifice to the malign and hostile power of the waves. Such successive blows from an invisible hand were enough to blanch the faces even of the sturdy Romans. Neptune manifestly denied to the "Children of Mars" the realm of the sea.

It was impossible for the six years following the last disaster to infuse any spirit into the struggle. In 247 B.C., Hamilcar Barca, the father of the great Hannibal, assumed the command of the Carthaginian forces, and for several years conducted the war with great ability on the island of Sicily, even making Rome tremble for the safety of her Italian possessions.

Once more the Romans determined to commit their cause to the element that had been so unfriendly to them. A fleet of two hundred vessels was built and equipped, but entirely by private

subscription; for the Senate feared that public sentiment would not sustain them in levying a tax for fitting up another costly armament as an offering to the insatiable Neptune. This people's squadron, as we may call it, was intrusted to the command of the consul Catulus. He met the Carthaginian fleet under the command of the admiral Hanno, near the Ægæan Islands, and inflicted upon it a crushing defeat (241 B.C.).

The Carthaginians now sued for peace. A treaty was at length arranged, the terms of which required that Carthage should give up all claims to the island of Sicily, surrender all her prisoners, and pay an indemnity of 3200 talents (about \$4,000,000), one-third of which was to be paid down, and the balance in ten yearly payments. Thus ended (241 B.C.), after a continuance of twenty-four years, the first great struggle between Carthage and Rome.

Punic war. 1st (264-241)

Battles	Roman Leaders	Carthaginian Leaders
Mytilæ	Dimitius	—
Cenomus	Regulus	—
Panormus	Metellus	Hastubal
Drepenum	Claudius	—
Ægæan Isles	Catulus	Hanno

- Terms of Peace
- I Carthage to give up all claims on Sicily
 - II Carthage should give up all prisoners.
 - III Carthage to pay 3200 Talents = \$3,000,000

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

(218-201 B.C.)

ROME BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The First Roman Province. — For the twenty-three years that followed the close of the first struggle between Rome and Carthage, the two rivals strained every power and taxed every resource in preparation for a renewal of the contest.

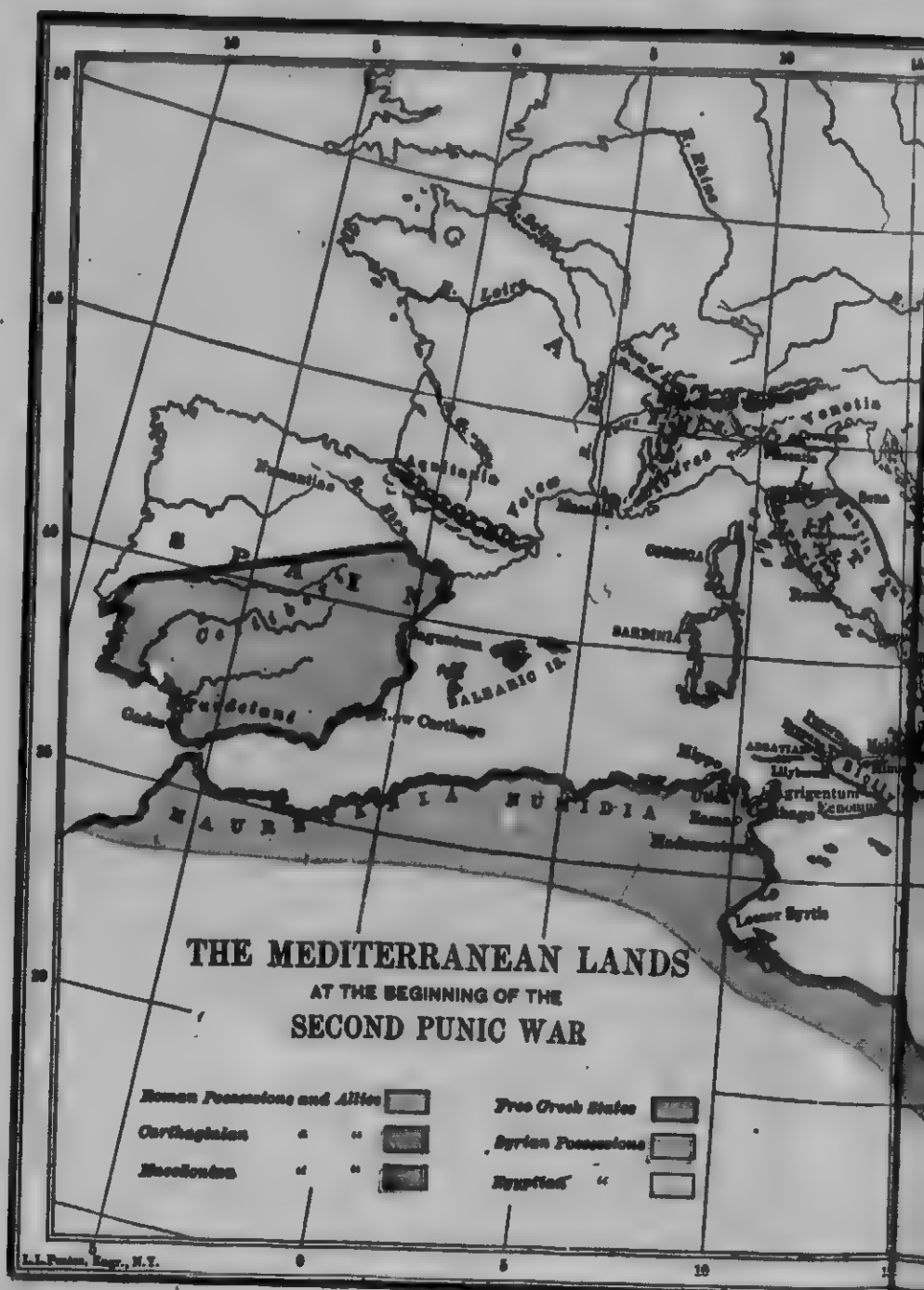
The Romans settled the affairs of Sicily, organizing all of it, save the lands belonging to Syracuse, as a province of the republic. This was the first territory beyond the limits of Italy that Rome had conquered, and the Sicilian the first of Roman provinces. But as the imperial city extended her conquests, her provincial possessions increased in number and size until they formed at last a perfect cordon about the Mediterranean. Each province was governed by a magistrate sent out from the capital, and paid an annual tribute, or tax, to Rome.

Rome acquires Sardinia and Corsica. — The first acquisition by the Romans of lands beyond the peninsula seems to have created in them an insatiable ambition for foreign conquests. They soon found a pretext for seizing the island of Sardinia, the most ancient, and, after Sicily, the most prized of the possessions of the Carthaginians. An insurrection breaking out upon the island, the Carthaginians were moving to suppress it, when the Romans insolently commanded them not only to desist from their military preparations (pretending that they believed them a threat against Rome), but to surrender Sardinia, and, moreover, to pay a fine of 1200 talents (\$1,500,000). Carthage, exhausted as she was, could do nothing but comply.

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The meanness and perfidy of the Romans in this matter made more bitter and implacable, if that were possible, the Carthaginian hatred of the Roman race. Sardinia, in connection with Corsica, which was also seized, was formed into a Roman province. With her hands upon these islands, the authority of Rome in the Western, or Tuscan Sea was supreme.

The Illyrian Corsairs are punished. — In a more legitimate way the Romans extended their influence over the seas that wash the eastern shores of Italy. For a long time the Adriatic and Ionian waters had been infested with Illyrian pirates, who issued from the roadsteads of the northeastern coasts of the former sea. These buccaneers not only scoured the seas for merchantmen, but troubled the Hellenic towns along the shores of Greece, and were even so bold as to make descents upon the Italian coasts. The Roman fleet chased these corsairs from the Adriatic, and captured several of their strongholds. Rome now assumed a sort of protectorate over the Greek cities of the Adriatic coasts. This was her first step towards final supremacy in Macedonia and Greece.

War with the Gauls. — In the north, during this same period, Roman authority was extended from the Apennines and the Rubicon to the foot of the Alps. Alarmed at the advance of the Romans, who were pushing northward their great military road, called the Flaminian Way, and also settling with discharged soldiers and needy citizens the tracts of frontier land wrested some time before from the Gauls, the Boii, a tribe of that race, stirred up all the Gallic peoples already in Italy, besides their kinsmen who were yet beyond the mountains, for an assault upon Rome. Intelligence of this movement among the northern tribes threw all Italy into a fever of excitement. At Rome the terror was great; for not yet had died out of memory what the city had once suffered at the hands of the ancestors of these same barbarians that were now again gathering their hordes for sack and pillage. An ancient prediction, found in the Sibylline books, declared that a portion of Roman territory must needs be occupied by Gauls.

Hoping sufficiently to fulfil the prophecy and satisfy fate, the Roman Senate caused two Gauls to be buried alive in one of the public squares of the capital.

Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced into Etruria, ravaging the country as they moved southward. After gathering a large amount of booty, they were carrying this back to a place of safety, when they were surrounded by the Roman armies at Telamon, and almost annihilated (225 B.C.). The Romans, taking advantage of this victory, pushed on into the plains of the Po, captured the city which is now known as Milan, and extended their authority to the foot-hills of the Alps. To guard the new territory, two military colonies, Placentia and Cremona, were established upon the opposite banks of the Po.

CARTHAGE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The Truceless War. — Scarcely had peace been concluded with Rome at the end of the First Punic War, before Carthage was plunged into a still deadlier struggle, which for a time threatened her very existence. The mercenary troops, upon their return from Sicily, revolted, on account of not receiving their pay. Their appeal to the native tribes of Africa was answered by a general uprising throughout the dependencies of Carthage. The extent of the revolt shows how hateful and hated was the rule of the great capital over her subject states.

The war was unspeakably bitter and cruel. It is known in history as "The Truceless War." At one time Carthage was the only city remaining in the hands of the government. But the genius of the great Carthaginian general, Hamilcar Barca, at last triumphed, and the authority of Carthage was everywhere restored.

The Carthaginians in Spain. — After the disastrous termination of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians determined to repair their losses by new conquests in Spain. Hamilcar Barca was sent over into that country, and for nine years he devoted his commanding genius to organizing the different Iberian tribes into a

compact state, and to developing the rich gold and silver mines of the southern part of the peninsula. He fell in battle 228 B.C.

Hamilcar Barca was the greatest general that up to this time the Carthaginian race had produced. As a rule, genius is not transmitted; but in the Barcine family the rule was broken, and the rare genius of Hamilcar reappeared in his sons, whom he himself, it is said, was fond of calling the "lion's brood." Hannibal, the oldest, was only nineteen at the time of his father's death, and being thus too young to assume command, Hasdrubal,¹ the son-in-law of Hamilcar, was chosen to succeed him. He carried out the unfinished plans of Hamilcar, extended and consolidated the Carthaginian power in Spain, and upon the eastern coast founded New Carthage as the centre and capital of the newly acquired territory. The native tribes were conciliated rather than conquered. The Barcine family knew how to rule as well as how to fight.

Hannibal's Vow.—Upon the death of Hasdrubal, which occurred 221 B.C., Hannibal, now ~~twenty-six years~~ of age, was by the unanimous voice of the army called to be their leader. When a child of nine years he had been led by his father to the altar; and there, with his hands upon the sacrifice, the little boy had sworn eternal hatred to the Roman race. He was driven on to his gigantic undertakings and to his hard fate, not only by the restless fires of his warlike genius, but, as he himself declared, by the sacred obligations of a vow that could not be broken.

Hannibal attacks Saguntum.—In two years Hannibal extended the Carthaginian power to the Ebro. Saguntum, a Greek city upon the east coast of Spain, alone remained unsubdued. The Romans, who were jealously watching affairs in the peninsula, had entered into an alliance with this city, and taken it, with other Greek cities in that quarter of the Mediterranean, under their protection. Hannibal, although he well knew that an attack upon this place would precipitate hostilities with Rome, laid siege to it

¹ Not to be confounded with Hannibal's own brother, Hasdrubal. See p. 271.

Hamilcar . 238 - 218

Hasdrubal - 228 - 220

Hannibal . - 221 -

In the spring of 219 B.C. He was eager for the renewal of the old contest. The Roman Senate sent messengers to him forbidding his making war upon a city which was a friend and ally of the Roman people; but Hannibal, disregarding their remonstrances, continued the siege, and after an investment of eight months gained possession of the town.

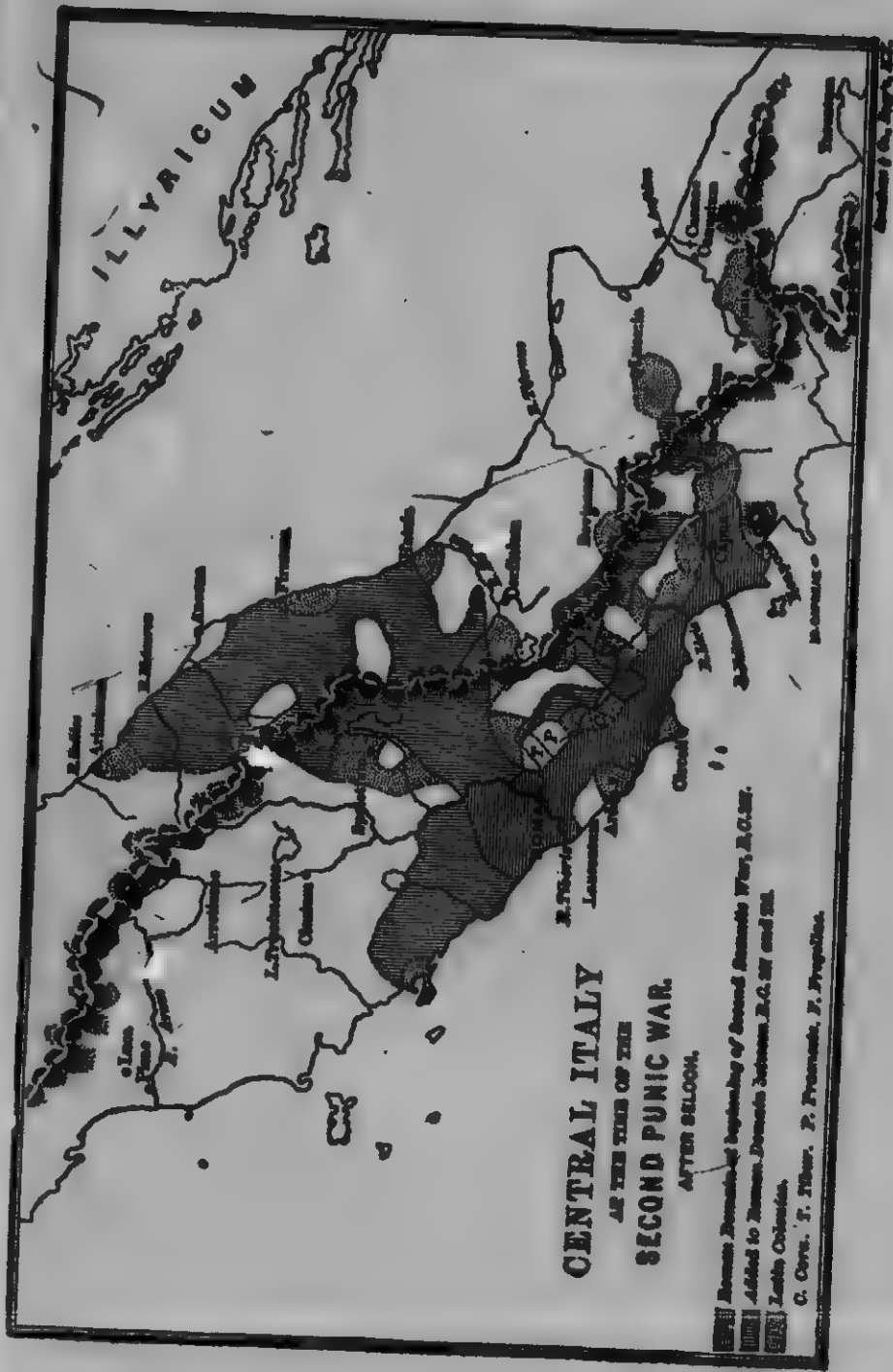
The Romans now sent commissioners to Carthage to demand of the Senate that they should give up Hannibal to them, and by so doing repudiate the act of their general. The Carthaginians hesitated. Then Quintus Fabius, chief of the embassy, gathering up his toga, said: "I carry here peace and war; choose, men of Carthage, which ye will have." "Give us whichever ye will," was the reply. "War, then," said Fabius, dropping his toga. The die was now cast; and the arena was cleared for the foremost, perhaps the mightiest, military genius of any race and of any time."¹

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Hannibal begins his March. — The Carthaginian empire was now stirred with preparations for the impending struggle. Hannibal was the life and soul of every movement. He planned and executed. The Carthaginian Senate acquiesced in and tardily confirmed his acts. His bold plan was to cross the Pyrenees and the Alps and descend upon Rome from the north. He secured the provinces in Spain and Africa by placing garrisons of Iberians in Africa and of Libyans in the peninsula. Ambassadors were sent among the Gallic tribes on both sides of the Alps, to invite them to be ready to join the army that would soon set out from Spain.

With these preparations completed, Hannibal left New Carthage early in the spring of 218 B.C., with an army numbering about 100,000 men, and including thirty-seven war-elephants. A hostile country lay between him and the Pyrenees. Through the warlike tribes that resisted his march he forced his way to the foot of the

¹ Smith's *Carthage and Rome*, p. 114.



mountains that guard the northern frontier of Spain. More than 20,000 of his soldiers were lost in this part of his march.

Passage of the Pyrenees and the Rhone.—Leaving a strong force to garrison the newly conquered lands, and discharging 10,000 more of his men who had begun to murmur because of their hardships, he pushed on with the remainder across the Pyrenees, and led them down into the valley of the Rhone. The Gauls attempted to dispute the passage of the river, but they were routed, and the army was ferried across the stream in native boats and on rudely constructed rafts.



HANNIBAL.

Passage of the Alps.—Hannibal now followed up the course of the Rhone, and then one of its eastern tributaries, the Isère, until he reached the foot-hills of the Alps, probably under the pass of the Little St. Bernard. Nature and man joined to oppose the passage. The season was already far advanced, — it was October, — and snow was falling upon the higher portions of the trail. Day after day the army toiled painfully up the dangerous path. In places the narrow way had to be cut wider for the

monstrous bodies of the elephants. Often avalanches of stone were hurled upon the trains by the hostile bands that held possession of the heights above. At last the summit was gained, and the shivering army looked down into the warm haze of the Italian plains. The sight alone was enough to rouse the drooping spirits of the soldiers; but Hannibal stirred them to enthusiasm by reminding them that they were standing upon the citadel of Italy, and that Rome lay in the plain beyond. The army began its descent, and at length, after toils and losses equalled only by those of the ascent, its thin battalions issued from the defiles of the mountains upon the plains of the Po. Of the 50,000 men and

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Second Punic war 218-201

Battles

R G

C G

1 Trecentum

Scipio

Hannibal

2 Trebia

{ Scipio
Clodius } Hannibal

3 Thrasimene Flaminius

"

4

Onutius

"

5 Cannae Varro Paulus

"

Archimedes

6 Metaurus { Nero
Livius }

Hasturbal

7 Zama Scipio Hannibal

Treaty (1) Give up all claim on Spain
& Islands of the Mediterranean

II Surrender all war elephants
and all her ships except 10

3 To pay an indemnity of 1000
talents at once and 200 talents
annually for 50 years

4 Should not under any circumstance
to make war upon an ally of Rome

more with which Hannibal had begun the passage, barely half that number had survived the march, and these "looked more like phantoms than men."

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Battles of the Ticinus, the Trebia, and of Lake Trasimenus. — The Romans had not the remotest idea of Hannibal's plans. With war determined upon, the Senate had sent one of the consuls, Tl. Sempronius Longus, with an army into Africa by the way of Sicily; while the other, Publius Cornelius Scipio, they had directed to lead another army into Spain.

While the Senate were watching the movements of these expeditions, they were startled with the intelligence that Hannibal, instead of being in Spain, had crossed the Pyrenees and was among the Gauls upon the Rhone. Sempronius was hastily recalled from his attempt upon Africa, to the defence of Italy. Scipio, on his way to Spain, had touched at Massilia, and there learned of the movements of Hannibal. He turned back, hurried into Northern Italy, and took command of the levies there. The cavalry of the two armies met upon the banks of the Ticinus, a tributary of the Po. The Romans were driven from the field by the fierce onset of the Numidian horsemen. Scipio now awaited the arrival of the other consular army, which was hurrying up through Italy by forced marches.

In the battle of the Trebia (218 B.C.) the united armies of the two consuls were almost annihilated. The refugees that escaped from the field sought shelter behind the walls of Placentia. The Gauls, who had been waiting to see to which side fortune would incline, now flocked to the standard of Hannibal, and hailed him as their deliverer.

The spring following the victory at the Trebia, Hannibal led his army, now recruited by many Gauls, across the Apennines, and moved southward. At Lake Trasimenus he entrapped the Romans under Flaminius in a mountain defile, where, bewildered by a fog that filled the valley, the greater part of the army was slaughtered, and the consul himself was slain.

Hannibal's Policy. — The way to Rome was now open. Be-

Heving that Hannibal would march directly upon the capital, the Senate caused the bridges that spanned the Tiber to be destroyed, and appointed Fabius Maximus dictator. But Hannibal did not deem it wise to throw his troops against the walls of Rome. Crossing the Apennines, he touched the Adriatic at Picenum, whence he sent messages to Carthage of his wonderful achievements. Here he rested his army after a march that has few parallels in the annals of war.

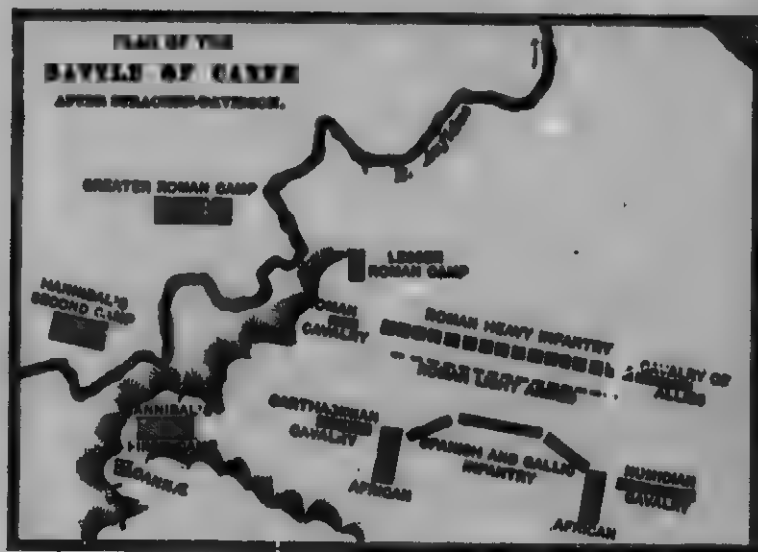
In one respect only had events disappointed Hannibal's expectations. He had thought that all the states of Italy were, like the Gauls, ready to revolt from Rome at the first opportunity that might offer itself. But not a single city had thus far proved unfaithful to Rome. The aid which Hannibal expected from the Italians, and which he invited by the kindest treatment of those who fell into his hands as prisoners, he was destined never to receive.

Fabius "the Delayer."—The dictator Fabius, at the head of four new legions, started in pursuit of Hannibal, who was again on the move. The fate of Rome was in the hands of Fabius. Should he risk a battle and lose it, the destiny of the capital would be sealed. He determined to adopt a more prudent policy—to follow and annoy the Carthaginian army, but to refuse all proffers of battle. Thus time might be gained for raising a new army and perfecting measures for the public defence. In every possible way Hannibal endeavored to draw his enemy into an engagement. He ravaged the fields far and wide and fired the homesteads of the Italians, in order to force Fabius to fight in their defence. The soldiers of the dictator began to murmur. They called him *Cunctator*, or "the Delayer." They even accused him of treachery to the cause of Rome. But nothing moved him from the steady pursuit of the policy which he clearly saw was the only prudent one to follow. Hannibal marched through Samnium, desolating the country as he went, and then descended upon the rich plains of Campania. Fabius followed him closely, and from the mountains, which he would not allow his soldiers to leave, they

were obliged to watch, with such calmness as they might command, the devastations of the enemy going on beneath their very eyes. They besought Fabius to lead them down upon the plain, where they might at least strike a blow in defence of their homes. Fabius was unmoved by their clamor. He planned, however, to entrap Hannibal. Knowing that the enemy could not support themselves in Campania through the approaching winter, but must recross the mountains into Apulia, he placed a strong guard in the pass by which they must retreat, and then quietly awaited their movements. Hannibal, we are told, resorted to stratagem to draw away the defenders of the mountain path. To the horns of two thousand oxen he caused burning torches to be fastened, and then these animals were driven one night up among the hills that overhung the pass. These creatures, frantic with pain and fright, rushed along the ranges that bordered the pass, and led the watchers there to believe that the Carthaginians were forcing their way over the hills in a grand rush. Straightway the guardians of the pass left their position to intercept the flying enemy. While they were pursuing the cattle, Hannibal marched quietly with all his booty through the unguarded defile, and escaped into Samnium.

The Policy of Fabius vindicated. — The escape of the Carthaginian army caused the smothered discontent with Fabius and his policy to break out into open opposition, both among the citizens at the capital and the soldiers in the camp. Minucius, commander of the cavalry, disobeyed the orders of the dictator to refrain from any engagement with the enemy, and was so fortunate as to gain a slight success. This brought matters to a crisis. By a vote of the public assembly Minucius was made co-dictator with Fabius. He now sought an engagement with the Carthaginians. An opportunity soon presented itself. But fortune was against him; and had it not been for the timely assistance of Fabius, his forces would have been cut to pieces. Minucius at once acknowledged the rashness of his policy, and took again his old position as a subordinate; while Fabius, by universal acclamation, was declared the "Savior of Rome."

The Battle of Cannae (216 B.C.).—The time gained by Fabius had enabled the Romans to raise and discipline an army that might hope to combat successfully the Carthaginian forces. Early in the summer of the year 216 B.C., these new levies, numbering 80,000 men, under the command of the two consuls,¹ confronted the army of Hannibal, amounting to not more than half that number, at Cannae, in Apulia. It was the largest army the



Romans had ever gathered on any battle-field. But it had been collected only to meet the most overwhelming defeat that ever befell the forces of the republic. Through the skilful manoeuvres of Hannibal, the Romans were completely surrounded, and

¹ The dictatorship of Fabius Maximus had expired. The patrician consul was named Lucius Æmilius Paulus; the plebeian, Gaius Terentius Varro. They were divided in counsel, and it was the rashness of Varro that precipitated the battle. The yearly change of their chief magistrates was a source of weakness and loss to the Romans in time of war. The popular vote frequently failed to secure experienced generals. Demagogues often controlled the election, as at Athens in the times of Cleon and Alcibiades. See *History of Greece*, pp. 94-97.

huddled together in a helpless mass upon the field, and then for eight hours were cut down by the Numidian cavalry. From fifty to seventy thousand were slain; a few thousand were taken prisoners; only the merest handful escaped, including one of the consuls. The slaughter was so great that, according to Livy, when Mago, a brother of Hannibal, carried the news of the victory to Carthage, he, in confirmation of the intelligence, poured down in the porch of the Senate-house nearly a peck of gold rings taken from the fingers of Roman knights.

Events after the Battle of Cannæ. — The awful news flew to Rome. Consternation and despair seized the people. The city would have been emptied of its population had not the Senate ordered the gates to be closed. Never did that body display greater calmness, wisdom, prudence, and resolution. By word and act they bade the people never to despair of the republic. Little by little the panic was allayed. Measures were concerted for the defence of the capital, as it was expected that Hannibal would immediately march upon Rome. Swift horsemen were sent out along the Appian Way to gather information of the conqueror's movements, and to learn, as Livy expresses it, "if the immortal gods, out of pity to the empire, had left any remnant of the Roman name."

The leader of the Numidian cavalry, Maharbal, urged Hannibal to follow up his victory closely. "Let me advance with the cavalry," said he, "and in five days thou shalt dine in the capital." But Hannibal refused to adopt the counsel of his impetuous general. Maharbal turned away, and with mingled reproach and impatience exclaimed, "Alas! thou knowest how to gain a victory, but not how to use one." The great commander, while he knew he was invincible in the open field, did not think it prudent to fight the Romans behind their walls.

Hannibal now sent an embassy to Rome to offer terms of peace. The Senate, true to the Appian policy never to treat with a victorious enemy (see p. 246), would not even permit the ambassadors to enter the gates. Not less disappointed was Hannibal in

the temper of the Roman allies. For the most part they adhered to the cause of Rome with unshaken loyalty through all these trying times. Some tribes in the south of Italy, however, among which were the Lucanians, the Apulians, and the Bruttians, went over to the Carthaginians. Hannibal marched into Campania and quartered his army for the winter in the luxurious city of Capua,¹ which had opened its gates to him. Here he rested and sent urgent messages to Carthage for reinforcements, while Rome exhausted every resource in raising and equipping new levies, to take the place of the legions lost at Cannæ. For several years there was an ominous lull in the war, while both parties were gathering strength for a renewal of the struggle.

The Fall of Syracuse and of Capua. — In the year 216 B.C., Hiero, king of Syracuse, who loved to call himself the friend and ally of the Roman people, died, and the government fell into the hands of a party unfriendly to the republic. An alliance was formed with Carthage, and a large part of Sicily was carried over to the side of the enemies of Rome. The distinguished Roman general, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, called "the Sword of Rome," was intrusted with the task of reconquering the island. After reducing many towns, he at last laid siege to Syracuse.

This noted capital was then one of the largest and richest cities of the Grecian world. Its walls were strong, and enclosed an area eighteen miles in circuit. For three years it held out against the Roman forces. It is said that Archimedes, the great mathematician, rendered valuable aid to the besieged with curious and powerful engines contrived by his genius. But the city fell at last,

¹ Hannibal's soldiers, according to Livy, were fatally enervated both in their bodies and their minds by the influences of this Sybaritic capital. The winter was spent by them in a round of feasting, drinking, bathing, and indulgences of all kinds, so that almost every trace of former vigor and discipline was lost. It is the opinion of persons versed in the art of war, adds the historian, that Hannibal, in taking up his winter quarters in Capua, committed a greater error than when he neglected to march upon Rome after the battle of Cannæ.

XXIII. 18.

and was given over to pillage (212 B.C.). Rome was adorned with the rare works of Grecian art — paintings and sculptures — which for centuries had been accumulating in this the oldest and most renowned of the colonies of ancient Hellas. Syracuse never recovered from the blow inflicted upon her at this time by the relentless Romans.



MARCELLUS, "The Sword of Rome."

Capua must next be punished for opening her gates and extending her hospitalities to the enemies of Rome. A line of circumvallation was drawn about the devoted city, and two Roman armies held it in close siege. Hannibal, ever faithful to his allies and friends, hastened to the relief of the Capuans. Unable to break the enemy's lines, he marched directly upon Rome, as if to make an attack upon that city, hoping thus to draw off the legions about Capua to the defence of the capital. The "dread Hannibal" himself rode alongside the walls of the hated city, and, tradition says, even hurled a defiant spear over the defences. The Romans certainly were trembling with fear; yet Livy tells how they manifested their confidence in their affairs by selling at public auction the land upon which Hannibal was encamped. He in turn, in the same manner, disposed of the shops fronting the Forum. The story is that there were eager purchasers in both cases.

Failing to draw the legions from Capua as he had hoped, Hannibal now retired from before Rome, and, retreating into the southern part of Italy, abandoned Capua to its fate. It soon fell and paid the penalty that Rome never failed to inflict upon an unfaithful ally. The chief men in the city were put to death, and a large part of the inhabitants sold as slaves (211 B.C.). Capua had aspired to the first place among the cities of Italy: scarcely more than the name of the ambitious capital now remained.

Hasdrubal in Spain.—During all the years Hannibal was waging war in Italy, his brother Hasdrubal was carrying on a

desperate struggle with the Romans in Spain. His plan was to gather and lead an army into Italy to the aid of his brother. This the Romans made every effort to prevent. Hence, even while Hannibal was threatening Rome itself, we find the Senate sending its best legions and generals across the sea into Spain. But Hasdrubal possessed much of the martial genius of his brother, and proved more than a match for the Scipios who commanded the Roman levies. Yet the fortunes of war were more fickle here than in Italy. At one time the Carthaginians were almost driven out of the peninsula; and then the whole was regained by the genius of Hasdrubal, and the two Scipios¹ were slain. Another army, under the command of Publius Cornelius Scipio, was sent to regain it and keep Hasdrubal engaged. The war was renewed, but without decided results on either side, and Hasdrubal determined to leave its conduct to others, and go to the relief of his brother, who was sadly in need of aid; for the calamities of war were constantly thinning his ranks. Like Pyrrhus, he had been brought to realize that even constant victories won by the loss of soldiers that could not be replaced meant final defeat.

Battle of the Metaurus (207 B.C.).—Hasdrubal followed the same route that had been taken by his brother Hannibal, and in the year 207 B.C. descended from the Alps upon the plains of Northern Italy. Thence he advanced southward, while Hannibal moved northward from Bruttium to meet him. Rome made a last effort to ward off the double danger. One hundred and forty thousand men were put into the field. One of the consuls, Gaius Claudius Nero, was to obstruct Hannibal's march; while the other, Marcus Livius, was to oppose Hasdrubal in the north. The great effort of the Roman generals was to prevent the junction of the armies of the two brothers. Hasdrubal pressed on southward and crossed the Metaurus. From here he sent a message to Hannibal, appointing a meeting-place only two days' march from

¹ Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, brothers. Publius Cornelius Scipio was the son of the aforementioned Publius Scipio.

Rome. The messenger fell into the hands of the consul Nero. In a moment Nero's plan was formed. With seven thousand picked soldiers he hastened northward, to join the other consul and, with their united forces, to crush Hasdrubal before his brother should know of the movement. In a few days Nero reached the camp of his colleague Cn. Servilius, in front of which lay the Carthaginian army. As the soldiers of Nero entered the camp of his associate in the night, Hasdrubal knew nothing of their arrival until the next morning, when he observed that the trumpet sounded twice from the enemy's camp. Fearing to risk a battle, he attempted to fall back across the Metaurus. Misled by his guides, he was forced to turn and give battle to the pursuing Romans. His army was entirely destroyed, and he himself was slain (207 B.C.).



PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO (Africanus).

Nero now hurried back to face Hannibal, bearing with him the head of Hasdrubal. This bloody trophy he caused to be hurled into the Carthaginian camp. Upon recognizing the features of his brother, Hannibal exclaimed sadly, "Carthage, I see thy fate."

War in Africa: Battle of Zama (202 B.C.).—The defeat and death of Hasdrubal gave a different aspect to the war. Hannibal now drew back into the rocky peninsula of Bruttium, the southernmost point of Italy. There he faced the Romans like a lion at bay. No one dared attack him. It was resolved to carry the war into Africa, in hopes that the Carthaginians would be forced to call their great commander out of Italy to the defence of Carthage. Publius Cornelius Scipio, who after the departure of

Hasdrubal from Spain had quickly brought the peninsula under the power of Rome, led the army of invasion. He had not been long in Africa before the Carthaginian Senate sent for Hannibal to conduct the war. At Zama, not far from Carthage, the hostile armies came face to face. Fortune had deserted Hannibal; he was fighting against fate. He here met his first and final defeat. His army, in which were many of the veterans that had served through all the Italian campaigns, was almost annihilated (202 B.C.).

The Close of the War. — Carthage was now completely exhausted, and sued for peace. Even Hannibal himself could no longer counsel war. The terms of the treaty were much severer than those imposed upon the city at the end of the First Punic War. She was required to give up all claims to Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean; to surrender her war elephants, and all her ships of war save ten galleys; to pay an indemnity of five thousand talents¹ at once, and two hundred and fifty talents annually for fifty years; and not, under any circumstances, to make war upon an ally of Rome. Five hundred of the costly Phoenician war-galleys were towed out of the harbor of Carthage and burned in the sight of the citizens (201 B.C.).

Such was the end of the Second Punic, or Hannibalic War, as called by the Romans, the most desperate struggle ever maintained by rival powers for empire. Scipio was accorded a splendid triumph at Rome, and given the surname Africanus in honor of his achievements.

¹ About \$6,250,000.

CHAPTER V.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

(149-146 B.C.)

EVENTS BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

THE terms imposed upon Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War left Rome mistress of the Western Mediterranean. During the fifty eventful years that elapsed between the close of that struggle and the breaking out of the last Punic war, her authority became supreme also in the Eastern seas. In another place,¹ while narrating the fortunes of the most important states into which the great empire of Alexander was broken at his death, we followed them until one after another they fell beneath the arms of Rome, and were successively absorbed into her growing kingdom. We shall therefore speak of them here only in the briefest manner, simply indicating the connection of their several histories with the series of events which mark the advance of Rome to universal empire.

The Battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.).—During the Hannibalic War, Philip V. (III.) of Macedonia had aided the Carthaginians, or at least had entered into an alliance with them. He was now troubling the Greek cities which were under the protection of Rome. For these things the Roman Senate determined to punish him. An army under Flamininus was sent into Greece, and on the plains of Cynoscephalæ, in Thessaly, the Roman legion demonstrated its superiority over the unwieldy Macedonian phalanx² by subjecting Philip to a most



PHILIP V., of Macedonia.

¹ See *History of Greece*, pp. 122, 130. ² *Ibid.*, p. 108, note.

disastrous defeat (197 B.C.). The king was forced to give up all his conquests, and the Greek cities that had been in subjection to Macedonia were declared free. Flamininus read the edict of emancipation to the Greeks assembled at Corinth for the celebration of the Isthmian games. The decree was received with the greatest enthusiasm and rejoicing, and Flamininus was called by the grateful Greeks the Restorer of Greek liberties. Unfortunately the Greeks had lost all capacity for freedom and self-government, and the anarchy into which their affairs soon fell afforded the Romans an excuse for extending their rule over Greece.

The Battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.). — Antiochus the Great of Syria had at this time not only overrun all Asia Minor, but had



ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT.

crossed the Hellespont into Europe, and was intent upon the conquest of Thrace and Greece. Rome, that could not entertain the idea of a rival empire upon the southern shores of the Mediterranean, could much less tolerate the establishment in the East of such a colossal kingdom as the ambition of Antiochus proposed to itself. Just as soon as intelligence was carried to Italy that the Syrian king was leading his army into Greece, the legions of the republic were set in motion. Some reverses caused Antiochus to retreat in haste across the Hellespont into Asia, whither he was followed by the Romans, led by Scipio, a brother of Africanus.

At Magnesia, Antiochus was overthrown, and a large part of Asia Minor fell into the hands of the Romans. Not yet prepared to maintain provinces so distant from the Tiber, the Senate conferred

the new territory, with the exception of Lycia and Caria, which were given to the Rhodians, upon their friend and ally Eumenes, king of Pergamus.¹ This "Kingdom of Asia," as it was called, was really nothing more than a dependency of Rome, and its nominal ruler only a puppet-king in the hands of the Roman Senate.

Scipio enjoyed a magnificent triumph at Rome, and, in accordance with a custom that had now become popular with successful generals, erected a memorial of his deeds in his name by assuming the title of Asiaticus.

3rd
The Battle of Pydna (168 B.C.). — In a few years Macedonia, *northern coast of Thessaly*, under the leadership of Perseus, son of Philip V., was again in arms and offering defiance to Rome; but in the year 168 B.C. the Roman consul Æmilius Paulus crushed the Macedonian power forever upon the memorable field of Pydna. This was one of the decisive battles fought by the Romans in their struggle for the dominion of the world. The last great power in the East was here broken. The Roman Senate was henceforth recognized by the whole civilized world as the source and fountain of supreme political wisdom and power. We shall have yet to record many campaigns of the Roman legions; but these were efforts to suppress revolt among dependent or semi-vassal states, or were struggles with barbarian tribes that skirted the Roman dominions.



PERSEUS, of Macedonia.

The Destruction of Corinth (146 B.C.). — Barely twenty years had passed after the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy before the cities and states that formed the Achæan League² were goaded to revolt by the injustice of their Roman protectors. In the year 146 B.C. the consul Mummius signalized the suppression of the rebellion by the complete destruction of the brilliant city of

¹ See *History of Greece*, p. 125, note. ² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

Corinth, the "eye of Hellas," as in expressive figure it has been called. This fair capital, the most beautiful and renowned of all the cities of Greece after the fall of Athens, was sacked and razed to the ground. Much of the booty was sold on the spot at public auction. Numerous works of art, — rare paintings and sculptures, — with which the city was crowded, were carried off to Italy. "Never before or after," says Long, "was such a display of the wonders of Grecian art carried in triumphal procession through the streets of Rome."

The Fate of Hannibal and of Scipio. — Among the many events that crowded the brief period we are reviewing, we must not fail to notice the fate of the two great actors in the Hannibalic War. Soon after the battle of Zama, and the treaty between Carthage and Rome, Hannibal was chosen to the chief magistracy of the former city. In this position he introduced much-needed reform into every department of the government, and secured to the capital a period of prosperity and rapid growth. But his measures stirred up not only enmity at home, but jealousy at Rome. The Roman Senate, fearing Hannibal as a statesman as much as they dreaded him as a general, demanded of the Carthaginians his surrender. While they were deliberating whether to give up their great commander, Hannibal fled across the sea to Ephesus, in Asia Minor. Here he was received by Antiochus with such marks of honor as became his deeds and genius.

Upon the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia, the Romans demanded that Hannibal should be given up to them. Again the exile fled from his implacable foes, and at last found a refuge with the prince of Bithynia, in a remote district of Asia Minor. Yet even there Roman hatred pursued him. It seemed as though there was no spot in all the world where the arm of Rome did not reach. His new friend could not shield him; and, determined not to fall into the hands of his foes, Hannibal took his own life by means of poison, and died faithful to his vow of eternal hatred to the Roman race (about 183 B.C.).

Almost equally bitter was the cup which the ungrateful Romans

forced to the lips of the conqueror of Hannibal. After the battle of Zama, Scipio Africanus gave himself to politics, but soon raised about himself a perfect storm of unmerited abuse and persecution. Leaving Rome, he went into a sort of voluntary exile at his country-seat near Liternum, in Campania. He died about the same time that witnessed the death of Hannibal. Upon his tomb was placed this inscription, which he himself had dictated: "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not possess even my ashes."

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

"Carthage must be destroyed." — The same year that Rome destroyed Corinth (146 B.C.), she also blotted her great rival Carthage from the face of the earth. It will be recalled that one of the conditions imposed upon the last-named city at the close of the Second Punic War was that she should, under no circumstances, engage in war with an ally of Rome. Taking advantage of the helpless condition of Carthage, Masinissa, king of Numidia and an ally of Rome, began to make depredations upon her territories. She appealed to Rome for protection. The envoys sent to Africa by the Senate to settle the dispute, unfairly adjudged every case in favor of the robber Masinissa. In this way Carthage was deprived of her lands and towns.

Chief of one of the embassies sent out was Marcus Cato, the Censor. When he saw the prosperity of Carthage, — her immense trade, which crowded her harbor with ships, and the country for miles back of the city a beautiful landscape of gardens and villas, — he was amazed at the growing power and wealth of the city, and returned home convinced that the safety of Rome demanded the destruction of her rival. Never afterwards did he address the Romans, no matter upon what subject, but he always ended with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed" (*delenda est Carthago*).

Roman Perfidy. — A pretext for the accomplishment of hateful work was not long wanting. In 150 B.C. the Carthaginians, when Masinissa made another attack upon their territory,

instead of calling upon Rome, from which source the past had convinced them they could hope for neither aid nor justice, gathered an army, and resolved to defend themselves. Their forces, however, were defeated by the Numidians, and sent beneath the yoke.

In entering upon this war Carthage had broken the conditions of the last treaty. The Carthaginian Senate, in great anxiety, now sent an embassy to Italy to offer any reparation the Romans might demand. They were told that if they would give three hundred hostages, members of the noblest Carthaginian families, the independence of their city should be respected. They eagerly complied with this demand. But no sooner were these in the hands of the Romans than the consular armies, numbering 80,000 men, secured against attack by the hostages so perfidiously drawn from the Carthaginians, crossed from Sicily into Africa, and disembarked at Utica, only ten miles from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were now commanded to give up all their arms; still hoping to win their enemy to clemency, they complied with this demand also. Then the consuls made known the final decree of the Roman Senate, — "That Carthage must be destroyed, but that the inhabitants might build a new city, provided it were located ten miles from the coast."

When this resolution of the Senate was announced to the Carthaginians, and they realized the baseness and perfidy of their enemy, a cry of indignation and despair burst from the betrayed city.

The Carthaginians prepare to defend their City. — It was resolved to resist to the bitter end the execution of the cruel decree. The gates of the city were closed. Men, women, and children set to work and labored day and night manufacturing arms. The entire city was converted into one great workshop. The utensils of the home and the sacred vessels of the temples, statues, and vases were melted down for weapons. Material was torn from the buildings of the city for the construction of military engines. The women cut off their hair and braided it into strings for the

catapults. By such labor, and through such means, the city was soon put in a state to withstand a siege.

When the Romans advanced to take possession of the place, they were astonished to find the people they had just treacherously disarmed, with weapons in their hands, manning the walls of their capital, and ready to bid them defiance.

The Destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.).— It is impossible for us here to give the circumstances of the siege of Carthage. For four years the city held out against the Roman army. At length the consul Scipio *Æmilianus* succeeded in taking it by storm. When resistance ceased, only 50,000 men, women, and children, out of a population of 700,000, remained to be made prisoners. The city was fired, and for seventeen days the space within the walls was a sea of flames. Every trace of building which the fire could not destroy was levelled, a plough was driven over the site, and a dreadful curse invoked upon any one who should dare attempt to rebuild the city.

Such was the hard fate of Carthage. It is said that Scipio, as he gazed upon the smouldering ruins, seemed to read in them the fate of Rome, and, bursting into tears, sadly repeated the lines of Homer:—

"The day shall come in which our sacred Troy,
And Priam, and the people over whom
Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all."

The Carthaginian territory in Africa was made into a Roman province, with Utica as the leading city; and Roman civilization was spread rapidly, by means of traders and settlers, throughout the regions that lie between the ranges of the Atlas and the sea.

WAR IN SPAIN.

Siege of Numantia.— It is fitting that the same chapter which narrates the destruction of Corinth in Greece, and the blotting-out of Carthage in Africa, should tell the story of the destruction of Numantia in Spain.

The expulsion of the Carthaginians from the Spanish peninsula really gave Rome the control of only a small part of that country. The warlike native tribes—the Celtiberians and Lusitanians—of the North and the West were ready stubbornly to dispute with the new-comers the possession of the soil. The treachery of the Roman generals inflamed the natives to a desperate revolt under Viriathus, a Lusitanian chief, who has been compared in his character and deeds to Wallace of Scotland. Finally Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage, was given the chief command. He began by reforming the army, which had become shamefully dissolute. The crowds of merchants were driven out of the camp; the wagons in which the effeminate soldiers were accustomed to ride were sold, and once more the Roman legions marched, instead of riding, to battle.

With the army in proper discipline for service, Scipio reinvested Numantia, which had already withstood nine years of siege. The brave defenders numbered barely 8000 men, while the lines of circumvallation that hedged them in were kept by 60,000 soldiers. Famine at last gave the place into the hands of Scipio, after almost all the inhabitants had met death, either in defence of the walls, or by deliberate suicide. The miserable remnant which the ravages of battle, famine, pestilence, and despair had left alive were sold into slavery, and the city was levelled to the ground (133 B.C.).

The capture of Numantia was considered quite as great an achievement as the taking of Carthage. Scipio celebrated another triumph at Rome, and to his surname Africanus added that of Numantinus. Spain became a favorite resort of Roman merchants, and many colonies were established in different parts of the country. As a result of this great influx of Italians, the laws, manners, customs, language, and religion of the conquerors were introduced everywhere, and the peninsula became rapidly Romanized.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

(133-91 B.C.)

We have now traced the growth of the power of republican Rome, as through two centuries and more of conquest she has extended her authority, first throughout Italy, and then over almost all the countries that border upon the Mediterranean. It must be our less pleasant task now to follow the declining fortunes of the republic through the last century of its existence. We shall here learn that wars waged for spoils and dominion are in the end more ruinous, if possible, to the conqueror than to the conquered.

The Servile War in Sicily (134-132 B.C.).—With the opening of this period we find a terrible struggle going on in Sicily between ~~masters~~ and slaves—or what is known as “The First Servile War.” The condition of affairs in that island was the legitimate result of the Roman system of slavery. The captives taken in war were usually sold into servitude. The great number of prisoners furnished by the numerous conquests of the Romans caused slaves to become a drug in the slave-markets of the Roman world. They were so cheap that masters found it more profitable to wear their slaves out by a few years of unmercifully hard labor, and then to buy others, than to preserve their lives for a longer period by more humane treatment. In case of sickness, they were left to die without attention, as the expense of nursing exceeded the cost of new purchases. Some Sicilian estates were worked by as many as 20,000 slaves. That each owner might know his own, the poor creatures were branded like cattle. What makes all this the more revolting is the fact that many of these slaves were in every way the peers of their owners, and often were

their superiors. The fortunes of war alone had made one servant and the other master.

A considerable portion of the estates in Sicily were simply grazing farms, their proprietors finding the raising of wool for the clothing of the Roman legions more profitable than the cultivation of grain. The slaves that tended the flocks on these farms received from their masters neither pay, food, nor clothing. They were expected to supply their needs from the herds they tended, and by robbing travellers on the highways and plundering the dwellings of the peasants. They were well armed, and were always accompanied by fierce dogs. The magistrates dared not punish them for their misdeeds, through fear of their masters, who were all-powerful at Rome.

The wretched condition of these slaves and the cruelty of their masters at last drove them to revolt. The insurrection spread throughout the island, until 200,000 slaves were in arms, and in possession of many of the strongholds of the country. They defeated four Roman armies sent against them, and for three years defied the power of Rome. Finally, however, in the year 132 B.C., the revolt was crushed, and peace was restored to the distracted island.¹

The Public Lands.—In Italy itself affairs were in a scarcely less wretched condition than in Sicily. When the different states of the peninsula were subjugated, large portions of the conquered territory had become public land (*ager publicus*); for upon the subjugation of a state Rome never left to the conquered people more than two-thirds of their lands, and often not so much as this. The land appropriated was disposed of at public sale, leased at low rentals, allotted to discharged soldiers, or allowed to lie unused.²

¹ In the year 102 B.C. another insurrection of the slaves broke out in the island, which it required three years to quell. This last revolt is known as "The Second Servile War."

² These land matters may be made plain by a reference to the public lands in the United States. The troubles in Ireland between the land-owners and

Now, it had happened that, in various ways, the greater part of the public lands had fallen into the hands of the wealthy. They alone had the capital necessary to stock and work them to advantage; hence the possessions of the small proprietors were gradually absorbed by the large landholders. These great proprietors, also, disregarding a law which forbade any person to hold more than five hundred jugera of land, held many times that amount. Almost all the lands of Italy, about the beginning of the first century B.C., are said to have been held by not more than 2000 persons; for the large proprietors, besides the lands they had secured by purchase from the government, or had wrested from the smaller farmers, claimed enormous tracts to which they had only a squatter's title. So long had they been left in undisturbed possession of these government lands that they had come to look upon them as absolutely their own. In many cases, feeling secure through great lapse of time,—the lands having been handed down through many generations,—the owners had expended large sums in their improvement, and now resisted as very unjust every effort to dispossess them of their hereditary estates. Money-lenders, too, had, in many instances, made loans upon these lands, and they naturally sided with the owners in their opposition to all efforts to disturb the titles.

These wealthy "possessors" employed slave rather than free labor, as they found it more profitable; and so the poorer Romans, left without employment, crowded into the cities, especially congregating at Rome, where they lived in vicious indolence. The proprietors also found it for their interest to raise stock rather than to cultivate the soil. All Italy became a great sheep-pasture.

Thus, largely through the workings of the public land system, the Roman people had become divided into two great classes, which are variously designated as the Rich and the Poor, the Pos-

their tenants will also serve to illustrate the agrarian disturbances in ancient Rome.

sessors and the Non-Possessors, the Optimates (the "Best") and the Populares (the "People"). We hear nothing more of patricians and plebeians. As one expresses it, "Rome had become a commonwealth of millionnaires and beggars."

For many years before and after the period at which we have now arrived, a bitter struggle was carried on between these two classes; just such a contest as we have seen waged between the nobility and the commonalty in the earlier history of Rome. The most instructive portion of the story of the Roman republic is found in the records of this later struggle. The misery of the great masses naturally led to constant agitation at the capital. Popular leaders introduced bill after bill into the Senate, and brought measure after measure before the assemblies of the people, all aiming at the redistribution of the public lands and the correction of existing abuses.

The Reforms of the Gracchi.—The most noted champions of the cause of the poorer classes against the rich and powerful were Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. These reformers are reckoned among the most popular orators that Rome ever produced. They eloquently voiced the wrongs of the people. Said Tiberius, "You are called 'lords of the earth' without possessing a single clod to call your own." The people made him tribune; and in that position he secured the passage of a law for the redistribution of the public lands, which gave some relief. It took away from Possessors without sons all the land they held over five hundred jugera; Possessors with one son might hold seven hundred and fifty jugera, and those with two sons one thousand.

At the end of his term of office, Tiberius stood a second time for the tribunate. The nobles combined to defeat him. Foreseeing that he would not be re-elected, Tiberius resolved to use force upon the day of voting. His partisans were overpowered, and he and three hundred of his followers were killed in the Forum, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber (133 B.C.). This was the first time that the Roman Forum had witnessed such a scene of violence and crime.

Gaius Gracchus, the younger brother of Tiberius, now assumed the position made vacant by the death of Tiberius. It is related that Gaius had a dream in which the spirit of his brother seemed to address him thus: "Gaius, why do you linger? There is no escape: one life for both of us, and one death in defence of the people, is our fate." The dream came true. Gaius was chosen tribune in 123 B.C. He secured the passage of grain-laws which provided that grain should be sold to the poor from public granaries at half its value or less. This was a very unwise and pernicious measure. It was not long before grain was distributed free to all applicants; and a considerable portion of the population of the capital were living in vicious indolence and feeding at the public crib.

Gaius proposed other measures in the interest of the people, which were bitterly opposed by the Optimates; and the two orders at last came into collision. Gaius sought death by a friendly sword (121 B.C.), and 3000 of his adherents were massacred. The consul offered for the head of Gaius its weight in gold. "This is the first instance in Roman history of head-money being offered and paid, but it was not the last" (Long).

The people ever regarded the Gracchi as martyrs to their cause, and their memory was preserved by statues in the public square. To Cornelia, their mother, a monument was erected, bearing the simple inscription, "The Mother of the Gracchi."

The War with Jugurtha (111-106 B.C.).—After the death of the Gracchi there seemed no one left to resist the heartless oppressions and to denounce the scandalous extravagances of the aristocratic party. Many of the laws of the Gracchi respecting the public lands were annulled. Italy fell again into the hands of a few over-rich land-owners. The provinces were plundered by the Roman governors, who squandered their ill-gotten wealth at the capital. The votes of senators and the decisions of judges, the offices at Rome and the places in the provinces—everything pertaining to the government had its price, and was bought and sold like merchandise. Affairs in Africa at this time illustrate how

Roman virtue and integrity had declined since Fabricius indignantly refused the gold of Pyrrhus.

Jugurtha, king of Numidia, had seized all that country, having put to death the rightful rulers of different provinces of the same, who had been confirmed in their possessions by the Romans at the close of the Punic wars. Commissioners sent from Rome to look into the matter were bribed by Jugurtha. Finally, the Numidian robber, in carrying out some of his high-handed measures, put to death some Italian merchants. War was immediately declared by the Roman Senate, and the consul Bestia was sent into Africa with an army, to punish the insolent usurper. Bestia sold himself to Jugurtha, and, instead of chastising him, confirmed him in his stolen possessions. We should naturally suppose that the Senate would have administered some wholesome correction to the mercenary consul upon his return. But the wily general, anticipating this, had taken with him the president of that body, and had divided with him the spoils.

The indignation of the people, who had good reason to suspect the real state of affairs, was great. They demanded that Jugurtha, with the promise of immunity to himself, should be invited to Rome, and encouraged to disclose the whole transaction, in order that those who had betrayed the state for money might be punished. Jugurtha came; but the gold of the consul and president bribed one of the tribunes to prohibit the king from giving his testimony.

Now it so happened that there was in Rome at this time a rival claimant of the Numidian throne, who at this very moment was urging his claims before the Senate. Jugurtha caused this rival to be assassinated. As he himself was under a safe-conduct, the Senate could do nothing to punish the audacious deed and to resent the insult to the state, save by ordering the king to depart from the city at once. As he passed the gates, it is said that he looked scornfully back upon the capital, and exclaimed, "O venal city! thou wouldst sell thyself if thou couldst find a purchaser!"

Upon the renewal of the war another Roman army was sent into

Africa, but was defeated and forced beneath the yoke. In the year 106 B.C. the war was brought to a close by Gaius Marius, a man who had risen to the consulship from the lowest ranks of the people. Under him fought a young nobleman named Sulla, of whom we shall hear much hereafter. Marius celebrated a grand triumph at Rome. Jugurtha, after having graced the triumphal procession, in which he walked with his hands bound with chains, was thrown into the Mamertine dungeon beneath the Capitoline hill, where he died of starvation.

Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones.—The war was not yet ended in Africa before terrible tidings came to Rome from the north. Two mighty nations of "horrible barbarians," 300,000 strong in fighting-men, coming whence no one could tell, had invaded and were now desolating the Roman provinces of Gaul, and might any moment cross the Alps and pour down into Italy.

The mysterious invaders proved to be two Germanic tribes, the Teutones and Cimbri, the vanguard of that great German migration which was destined to change the face and history of Europe. These intruders were seeking new homes, and were driven on, it would almost seem, by a blind and instinctive impulse. They carried with them, in rude wagons, all their property, their wives, and their children. The Celtic tribes of Gaul were no match for the new-comers, and fled before them as they advanced. Several Roman armies beyond the Alps were cut to pieces. In one battle more than 100,000 Romans are said to have been slaughtered. The terror at Rome was only equalled by that occasioned by the invasion of the Gauls two centuries before. The Gauls were terrible enough; but now the conquerors of the Gauls were coming.

Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, was looked to by all as the only man who could save the state in this crisis. He was re-elected to the consulship, and intrusted with the command of the armies. Accompanied by Sulla as one of his most skillful lieutenants, Marius hastened into Northern Italy. The bar-

barbarians had divided into two bands. The Cimbri were to cross the Eastern Alps, and join in the valley of the Po the Teutones, who were to force the defiles of the Western, or Maritime Alps. Marius determined to prevent the union of the barbarians, and to crush each band separately.

Anticipating the march of the Teutones, he hurried over the Alps into Gaul, and sat down in a fortified camp to watch their movements. Unable to storm the Roman position, the barbarians resolved to leave their enemy in the rear and push on into Italy. For six days and nights the endless train of men and wagons rolled past the camp of Marius. The barbarians jeered at the Roman soldiers, and asked them if they had any messages they wished to send to their wives; if so, they would bear them, as they would be in Rome shortly. Marius allowed them to pass by, and then, breaking camp, followed closely after. Falling upon them at a favorable moment, he almost annihilated the entire host.¹ Two hundred thousand barbarians are said to have been slain. Marius heaped together and burned the spoils of the battle-field. While engaged in this work, the news was brought to him of his re-election as consul for the fifth time. This was illegal; but the people felt that Marius must be kept in the field.

Marius now recrossed the Alps, and, after visiting Rome, hastened to meet the Cimbri, who were entering the north-eastern corner of Italy. He was not a day too soon. Already the barbarians had defeated the Roman army under the patrician Catulus, and were ravaging the rich plains of the Po. The Cimbri, unconscious of the fate of the Teutones, now sent an embassy to Marius, to demand that they and their kinsmen should be given lands in Italy. Marius sent back in reply, "The Teutones have got all the land they need on the other side of the Alps." The devoted Cimbri were soon to have all they needed on this side.

¹ In the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, fought 102 B.C.

A terrible battle almost immediately followed at Vercellæ (101 B.C.). The barbarians were drawn up in an enormous hollow square, the men forming the outer ranks being fastened together with ropes, to prevent the lines being broken. This proved their ruin. More than 100,000 were killed, and 60,000 taken prisoners to be sold as slaves in the Roman markets. Marius was hailed as the "Savior of his Country."

The fate of these two nations that were wandering over the face of the earth in search of homes is one of the most pathetic tales in all history. The almost innumerable host of wanderers, men, women, and children, now "rested beneath the sod, or toiled under the yoke of slavery: the forlorn hope of the German migration had performed its duty; the homeless people of the Cimbri and their comrades were no more" (Mommsen). Their kinsmen yet behind the Danube and the Rhine were destined to exact a terrible revenge for their slaughter.

The Social, or Marsic War (91-89 B.C.).—Scarcely was the danger of the barbarian invasion past, before Rome was threatened by another and greater evil arising within her own borders. At this time all the free inhabitants of Italy were embraced in three classes,—*Roman citizens, Latins, and Italian allies*. The Roman citizens included the inhabitants of the capital and of the various Roman colonies planted in different parts of the peninsula,¹ besides the people of a number of towns called *municipia*; the Latins were the inhabitants of the Latin colonies;² the Italian allies (*socii*) included the various subjugated races of Italy.³

The Social, or Marsic War (as it is often called on account of the prominent part taken in the insurrection by the warlike Marsians) was a struggle that arose from the demands of the Italian allies for the privileges of Roman citizenship, from which they were wholly excluded. As the authority of Rome had been gradually extended over the various cities and states of Italy, only

¹ See p. 247, note.

² They enjoyed local self-government, but were bound by treaty to furnish contingents to the Roman army in times of war.



COIN OF THE ITALIAN
CONFEDERACY.

(The Italian Bull goring the
Roman Wolf.)

a few favored individuals and communities had been admitted to a share in the rights and immunities of the citizens of the capital. Indeed, the world had not yet come to regard the conquered as having any rights whatever. But these Italians were the same in race, language, and religion as their conquerors; and it was their valor and blood that had helped Rome to secure the dominion of the Mediterranean world. Yet invidious and hateful distinctions separated them from the citizens of the capital. A Roman soldier could not be scourged; but an alien might be whipped to death, and often was, without comment being excited or redress being possible. Naturally the Italians complained bitterly of having to fight for the maintenance of an empire in the management of which they had no voice, and under the laws of which they found no protection.

The *socii* now demanded the Roman franchise and the immunities and privileges of citizens. The demand was stubbornly resisted by both the aristocratical and the popular party at Rome. Some, however, recognized the justice of these claims of the Italians. Drusus championed their cause, but was murdered by an infuriated mob. The Italians now flew to arms. They determined upon the establishment of a rival state. A town called Corfinium, among the Apennines, was chosen as the capital of the new republic, and its name changed to Italica. The government of the new state was modelled after that at Rome. Two consuls were placed at the head of the republic, and a senate of five hundred members was formed. Thus, in a single day, almost all Italy south of the Rubicon was lost to Rome. The Etrurians, the Umbrians, the Campanians, the Latins, and some of the Greek cities were the only states that remained faithful.

The greatness of the danger aroused all the old Roman courage and patriotism. Aristocrats and democrats hushed their quarrels; Sulla and Marius forgot rising animosities, and fought bravely side

by side for the endangered life of the republic. An army of 100,000 men was raised to face a force equal in number and discipline that had been gathered by the new confederacy. The war lasted three years. Finally Rome bravely extended the right of the franchise to the Latins, Etruscans, and Umbrians, who had so far remained true to her, but now began to show signs of wavering in their loyalty. Shortly afterwards she offered the same to all Italians who should lay down their arms within sixty days. This tardy concession to the just demands of the Italians virtually ended the war. It had been extremely disastrous to the republic. Hundreds of thousands of lives had been lost, many towns had been depopulated, and vast tracts of the country made desolate by those ravages that never fail to characterize civil contentions.

In after years, under the empire, the rights of Roman citizenship, which the Italians had now so hardly won, were extended to all the free inhabitants of the various provinces beyond the confines of Italy (see p. 353).

The Civil War of Marius and Sulla. — The Social War was not yet ended when a formidable enemy appeared in the East. Mithradates the Great, king of Pontus, taking advantage of the distracted condition of the republic, had encroached upon the Roman provinces in Asia Minor, and had caused a general massacre of the Italian traders and residents in that country. The number of victims of this wholesale slaughter has been variously estimated at from 80,000 to 150,000. The Roman Senate instantly declared war. But the Marsic struggle had drained the treasury. The money needed for equipping an army could be raised only by the sale of the vacant public ground about the Capitol building.

A contest straightway arose between Marius and Sulla for the command of the forces. The former was now an old man of seventy years, while the latter was but forty-nine. Marius could not endure the thought of being pushed aside by his former lieutenant. The veteran general joined with the young men in the games and exercises of the gymnasium, to show that his frame was still animated by the strength and agility of youth. The

Senate, however, conferred the command upon Sulla. Marius was furious at the success of his rival, and by fraud and intimidation succeeded in getting the command taken away from Sulla and given to himself. Two tribunes were sent to demand of Sulla, who was still in Italy, the transfer of the command of the legions to Marius; but the messengers were killed by the soldiers, who were devotedly attached to their commander. Sulla now saw that the sword must settle the dispute. He marched at the head of his legions upon Rome, entered the gates, and "for the first time in the annals of the city a Roman army encamped within the walls." The party of Marius was defeated, and he and ten of his companions were proscribed. Marius escaped and fled to Africa; Sulla embarked with the legions to meet Mithradates in the East (88 B.C.).

The Wanderings of Marius.—Leaving Sulla to carry on the Mithradatic War, we must first follow the fortunes of the exiled Marius. The ship in which he fled from Italy was driven ashore at Circeii. Here Marius and the companions of his flight wandered about, sustained by the hope inspired by the good omen of the seven eaglets. As the story runs, Marius, when a boy, had captured an eagle's nest with seven young, and the augurs had said that this signified that he should be seven times consul. He had already held the office six times, and he firmly believed that the prophecy would be fulfilled as to the seventh.



MARIUS.

The pursuers of Marius at last found him hiding in a marsh, buried to his neck in mud and water. He was dragged before the authorities of the town of Minturnæ. The magistrates, in obedience to the commands that had been sent everywhere, determined to put him to death. A Cimbrian slave was sent to despatch him. The cell where Marius lay was dark, and the eyes

of the old soldier "seemed to flash fire." As the slave advanced, Marius shouted, "Man, do you dare kill Gaius Marius?" The frightened slave dropped his sword, and fled from the chamber, half dead with fear.

A better feeling now took possession of the men of Minturnæ, and they resolved that the blood of the "Savior of Italy" should not be upon their hands. They put him aboard a vessel, which bore him and his friends to an island just off the coast of Africa. When he attempted to set foot upon the mainland near Carthage, Sextus, the Roman governor of the province, sent a messenger to forbid him to land. The legend says that the old general, almost choking with indignation, only answered, "Go, tell your master that you have seen Marius a fugitive sitting amidst the ruins of Carthage."

The Return of Marius to Italy. — The exile at length found a temporary refuge on the island of Cercina, off the coast of Tunis. Here news was brought to him that his party, under the lead of Cinna, was in successful revolt against the Optimates, and that he was needed. He immediately set sail for Italy, and, landing in Etruria, joined Cinna. Together they hoped to crush and exterminate the opposing faction. Rome was cut off from her food-supplies and starved into submission.

Marius now took a terrible revenge upon his enemies. The consul Octavius was assassinated, and his head set up in front of the Rostrum. Never before had such a thing been seen at Rome — a consul's head exposed to the public gaze. The senators, equestrians, and leaders of the Optimate party fled from the capital. For five days and nights a merciless slaughter was kept up. The life of every man in the capital was in the hands of the revengeful Marius. If he refused to return the greeting of any citizen, that sealed his fate: he was instantly despatched by the soldiers who awaited the dictator's nod. The bodies of the victims lay unburied in the streets. Sulla's house was torn down, and he himself declared a public enemy. During the tumult the slaves had armed themselves, and, imitating the example set

before them, were rioting in murder and pillage. Marius, finding it impossible to restrain their maddened fury, turned his soldiers loose upon them, and they were massacred to a man.

As a fitting sequel to all this violence, Marius and Cinna were, in an entirely illegal way, declared consuls. The prophecy of the eaglets was fulfilled: Marius was consul for the seventh time. But rumors were now spread that Sulla, having overthrown Mithradates, was about to set out on his return with his victorious legions. He would surely exact speedy and terrible vengeance. Marius, now old and enfeebled by the hardships of many campaigns, seemed to shrink from facing again his hated rival. He plunged into dissipation to drown his remorse and gloomy forebodings, and died in his seventy-first year (86 B.C.), after having held his seventh consulship only thirteen days.

Sulla and the First Mithradatic War (88-84 B.C.).—When Sulla left Italy with his legions for the East he knew very well that his enemies would have their own way in Italy during his absence; but he also knew that, if successful in his campaign against Mithradates, he could easily regain Italy, and wrest the government from the hands of the Marian party.

We can here take space to give simply the results of Sulla's campaigns in the East. After driving the army of Mithradates out of Greece, Sulla crossed the Hellespont, and forced the king to sue for peace. He gave up his conquered territory, surrendered his war-ships, and paid a large indemnity to cover the expenses of the war (84 B.C.).

With the Mithradatic War ended, Sulla wrote to the Senate, saying that he was now coming to take vengeance upon the Marian party, — his own and the republic's foes.

The terror and consternation produced at Rome by this letter were increased by the accidental burning of the Capitol. The Sibylline books, which held the secrets of the fate of Rome, were consumed. This accident awakened the most gloomy apprehensions. Such an event, it was believed, could only foreshadow the most direful calamities to the state.

The Proscriptions of Sulla. — The returning army from the East landed in Italy. With his veteran legions at his back, Sulla marched into Rome with all the powers of a dictator. The leaders of the Marian party were proscribed, rewards were offered for their heads, and their property was confiscated. Sulla was implored to make out a list of those he designed to put to death, that those he intended to spare might be relieved of the terrible suspense in which all were now held. He made out a list of eighty, which was attached to the Rostrum. The people murmured at the length of the roll. In a few days it was extended to over three hundred, and grew rapidly, until it included the names of thousands of the best citizens of Italy. Hundreds were murdered, not for any offence, but because some favorites of Sulla coveted their estates. A wealthy noble coming into the Forum and reading his own name in the list of the proscribed, exclaimed, "Alas! my villa has proved my ruin." The infamous Catiline, by having the name of a brother placed upon the fatal roll, secured his property. Julius Caesar, at this time a mere boy of eighteen, was proscribed on account of his relationship to Marius; but, upon the intercession of friends, Sulla spared him; as he did so, however, he said warningly, and, as the event proved, prophetically, "There is in that boy many a Marius."

Senators, knights, and wealthy land-owners fell by hundreds and by thousands; but the poor Italians who had sided with the Marian party were simply slaughtered by tens of thousands. Nor did the provinces escape. In Sicily, Spain, and Africa the enemies of the dictator were hunted and exterminated like noxious animals. It is estimated that the civil war of Marius and Sulla cost the republic over 150,000 lives.

When Sulla had sated his revenge, he celebrated a splendid triumph at Rome; the Senate enacted a law declaring all that he had done legal and right, caused to be erected in the Forum a gilded equestrian statue of the dictator, which bore the legend, "To Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the Commander Beloved by Fortune," and made him dictator for life. Sulla used his position and influ-

ence in recasting the constitution in the interest of the aristocratic party. After enjoying the unlimited power of an Asiatic despot for three years, he suddenly resigned the dictatorship, and retired to his villa at Puteoli, where he gave himself up to the grossest dissipations. He died the year following his abdication (78 B.C.).

The soldiers who had fought under the old general crowded to his funeral from all parts of Italy. The body was burned upon a huge funeral pyre raised in the Campus Martius. The monument erected to his memory bore this inscription, which he himself had composed: "None of my friends ever did me a kindness, and none of my enemies ever did me a wrong, without being fully requited."

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC (*concluded*).

(133-31 B.C.)

Pompey the Great in Spain. — The fires of the Civil War, though quenched in Italy, were still smouldering in Spain. Sertorius, an adherent of Marius, had there stirred up the martial tribes of Lusitania, and incited a general revolt against the power of the aristocratic government at Rome. Gnaeus Pompey, a rising young leader of the oligarchy, upon whom the title of "Great" had already been conferred as a reward for crushing the Marian party in Sicily and Africa, was sent into Spain to perform a similar service there.

For several years the war was carried on with varying fortunes. At times the power of Rome in the peninsula seemed on the verge of utter extinction. Finally the brave Sertorius was assassinated (73 B.C.), and then the whole of Spain was quickly regained. Pompey boasted of having forced the gates of more than eight hundred cities in Spain and Southern Gaul. Throughout all the conquered regions he established military colonies, and reorganized the local governments, putting in power those who would be not only friends and allies of the Roman state, but also his own personal adherents. How he used these men as instruments of his ambition, we shall learn a little later.

Spartacus: War of the Gladiators (73-71 B.C.). — While Pompey was subduing the Marian faction in Spain, a new danger broke out in the midst of Italy. Gladiatorial combats had become at this time the favorite sport of the amphitheatre. At Capua was a sort of training-school, from which skilled fighters were hired out for public or private entertainments. In this seminary was a Thracian slave, known by the name of Spartacus, who incited his compan-

ions to revolt. The insurgents fled to the crater of Vesuvius, and made that their stronghold. There they were joined by gladiators from other schools, and by slaves and discontented men from every quarter. Some slight successes enabled them to arm themselves with the weapons of their enemies. Their number at length increased to 150,000 men. For three years they defied the power of Rome, and even gained control of the larger part of Southern Italy. Four Roman armies sent against them were cut to pieces.

But Spartacus, who was a man of real ability and discernment, foresaw that a protracted contest with Rome must inevitably issue in the triumph of the government. He therefore counselled his followers to fight their way over the Alps, and then to disperse to their various homes in Gaul, Spain, and Thrace. But elated with the successes already achieved, they imagined that they could capture Rome, and have all Italy for a spoil. Their camp was already filled with plunder, which the insurgents sold to speculators. They took in exchange for these spoils only brass and iron, which their forges quickly converted into weapons.

At length M. Crassus succeeded in crowding the insurgents down into Rhegium, where Hannibal had stood so long at bay. Spartacus now resolved to pass over into Sicily, and stir up the embers of the old Servile War upon that island. He bargained with the pirates that infested the neighboring seas to convey his forces across the straits; but as soon as they had received the stipulated price they treacherously sailed away, and left Spartacus and his followers to their fate. Crassus threw up a wall across the isthmus, to prevent the escape of the insurgents; but Spartacus broke through the Roman line by night, and hastened northward with his army. Following in hot pursuit, Crassus overtook the fugitives at the Silarus, and there subjected them to a decisive defeat. Spartacus himself was slain; but 5000 of the insurgents escaped, and fled towards the Alps. This flying band was met and annihilated by Pompey, who was returning from Spain.

The slaves that had taken part in the revolt were hunted through the mountains and forests, and exterminated like dangerous beasts. The Appian Way was lined with six thousand crosses, bearing aloft as many bodies, — a terrible warning of the fate awaiting slaves that should dare to strike for freedom.

The Abuses of Verres. — Terrible as was the state of society in Italy, still worse was the condition of affairs outside the peninsula. At first the rule of the Roman governors in the provinces, though severe, was honest and prudent. But during the period of profligacy and corruption upon which we have now entered, the administration of these foreign possessions was shamefully dishonest and incredibly cruel and rapacious. The prosecution of Verres, the proprietor of Sicily, exposed the scandalous rule of the oligarchy, into whose hands the government had fallen. For three years Verres plundered and ravaged that island with impunity. He sold all the offices and all his decisions as judge. He demanded of the farmers the greater part of their crops, which he sold, to swell his already enormous fortune. Agriculture was thus ruined, and the farms were abandoned. Verres had a taste for art, and when on his tours through the island confiscated gems, vases, statues, paintings, and other things that struck his fancy, whether in temples or private dwellings.

Verres could not be called to account while in office; and it was doubtful whether, after the end of his term, he could be convicted, so corrupt and venal had become the members of the Senate, before whom all such offenders must be tried. Indeed, Verres himself openly boasted that he intended two thirds of his gains for his judges and lawyers, while the remaining one third would satisfy himself.

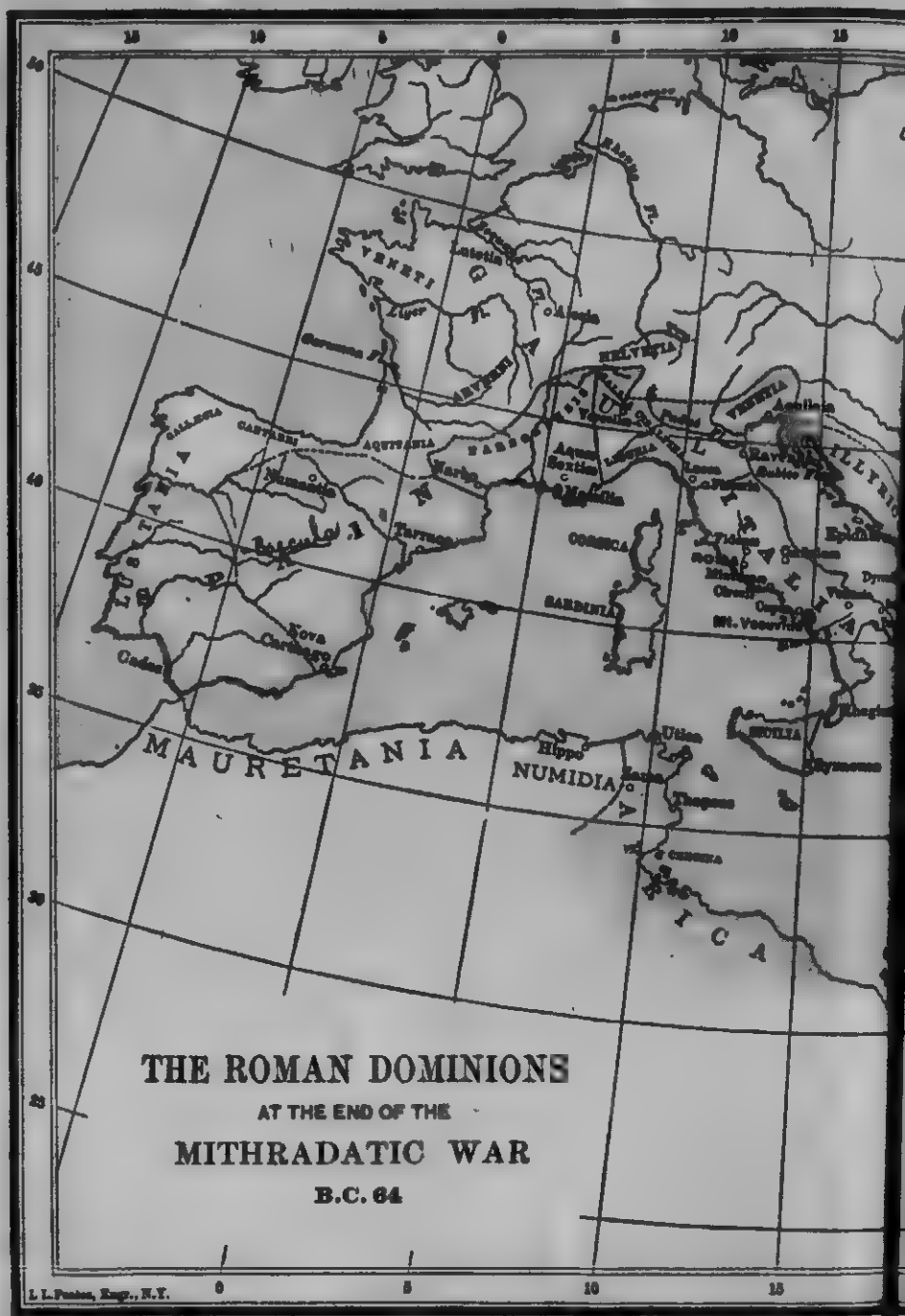
At length, after Sicily had come to look as though it had been ravaged by barbarian conquerors, the infamous robber was impeached. The prosecutor was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the brilliant orator, who was at this time just rising into prominence at Rome. The storm of indignation raised by the developments of the trial

caused Verres to flee into exile to Massilia, whither he took with him much of his ill-gotten wealth.

War with the Mediterranean Pirates (66 B.C.).—The Roman republic was now threatened by a new danger from the sea. The Mediterranean was swarming with pirates. Roman conquests in Africa, Spain, and especially in Greece and Asia Minor, had caused thousands of adventurous spirits from those maritime countries to flee to their ships, and seek a livelihood by preying upon the commerce of the seas. The cruelty and extortions of the Roman governors had also driven large numbers to the same course of life. These corsairs had banded themselves into a sort of government, and held possession of numerous strongholds—four hundred, it is said—in Cilicia, Crete, and other countries. With a thousand swift ships they scoured the waters of the Mediterranean, so that no merchantman could spread her sails in safety. They formed a floating empire, which Michelet calls a “a wandering Carthage, which no one knew where to seize, and which floated from Spain to Asia.”

These buccaneers, the Vikings of the South, made descents upon the coast everywhere, plundered villas and temples, attacked and captured cities, and sold the inhabitants as slaves in the various slave markets of the Roman world. They carried off merchants and magistrates from the Appian Way itself, and held them for ransom. At last the grain ships of Sicily and Africa were intercepted, and Rome was threatened with the alternative of starvation or the paying of an enormous ransom.

The Romans now bestirred themselves. Pompey was invested with dictatorial power for three years over the Mediterranean and all its coasts for fifty miles inland. An armament of 500 ships and 100,000 men was intrusted to his command. The great general acted with his characteristic energy. Within forty days he had swept the pirates from the Western Mediterranean, and in forty-nine more hunted them from all the waters east of Italy, captured their strongholds in Cilicia, and settled the 20,000 prisoners that fell into his hands in various colonies in Asia Minor and Greece.





Pompey's vigorous and successful conduct of this campaign against the pirates gained him great honor and reputation.

Pompey and the Third¹ Mithradatic War (74-64 B.C.).— In the very year that Pompey suppressed the pirates, he was called upon to undertake a more difficult task. Mithradates the Great, led on by his ambition, and encouraged by the discontent created throughout the Eastern provinces by Roman rapacity and misrule, was again in arms against Rome. He had stirred almost all Asia Minor to revolt. The management of the war was at first intrusted to the consul Lucius Licinius Lucullus, but he soon lost the confidence both of the people at home and of the soldiers in the army; so the command was taken from him and conferred upon Pompey, whose success in the war of the pirates had aroused unbounded enthusiasm for him.

In a great battle in Lesser Armenia, Pompey almost annihilated the army of Mithradates. The king fled from the field and, after seeking in vain for a refuge in Asia Minor, sought an asylum beyond the Caucasus Mountains, whose bleak barriers interposed their friendly shield between him and his pursuers. Desisting from the pursuit, Pompey turned south and conquered Syria, Phœnicia, and Coele-Syria, which countries he erected into a Roman province.

Still pushing southward, the conqueror entered Palestine, and after a short siege captured Jerusalem (63 B.C.). It was at this time that Pompey insisted, in spite of the protestations of the high priest, upon entering the Holy of Holies of the Hebrew temple. Pushing aside the curtain to the jealously guarded apartment, he was astonished to find nothing but a dark and vacant chamber, without even a statue of the god to whom the shrine was dedicated—nothing but a little chest (the Ark of the Covenant) containing some sacred relics.



MITHRADATES VI.
(The Great.)

¹ The so-called Second Mithradatic War (83-82 B.C.) was a short conflict between the Romans and Mithradates that arose just after the close of the First.

While Pompey was thus engaged, Mithradates was straining every energy to raise an army among the Scythian tribes with which to carry out a most daring project. He proposed to cross Europe and fall upon Italy from the north. A revolt on the part of his son Pharnaces ruined all his plans and hopes; and the disappointed monarch, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took his own life (63 a.c.). His death removed one of the most formidable enemies that Rome had ever encountered. Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Mithradates were the three great names that the Romans always pronounced with respect and dread.

Pompey's Triumph. — After regulating the affairs of the different states and provinces in the East, Pompey set out on his return to Rome, where he enjoyed such a triumph as never before had been seen since Rome had become a city. The spoils of all the East were borne in the procession; 322 princes walked as captives before the triumphal chariot of the conqueror; legends upon the banners proclaimed that he had conquered 21 kings, captured 1000 strongholds, 900 towns, and 800 ships, and subjugated more than 12,000,000 people; and that he had put into the treasury more than \$25,000,000, besides doubling the regular revenues of the state. He boasted that three times he had triumphed, and each time for the conquest of a continent — first for Africa, then for Europe, and now for Asia, which completed the conquest of the world.

The Conspiracy of Catiline (64-62 a.c.). — While the legions were absent from Italy with Pompey in the East, a most daring conspiracy against the government was formed at Rome. Catiline, a ruined spendthrift, had gathered a large company of profligate young nobles, weighed down with debts and desperate like himself, and had deliberately planned to murder the consuls and the chief men of the state, and to plunder and burn the capital. The offices of the new government were to be divided among the conspirators. They depended upon receiving aid from Africa and Spain, and proposed to invite to their standard the gladiators in the various schools of Italy, as well as slaves and criminals. The

proscriptions of Sulla were to be renewed, and all debts were to be cancelled.

Fortunately, all the plans of the conspirators were revealed to the consul Cicero, the great orator. The Senate immediately clothed the consuls with dictatorial power with the usual formula, that they "should take care that the republic received no harm." The gladiators were secured; the city walls were manned; and at every point the capital and state were armed against the "invisible foe." Then in the Senate-chamber, with Catiline himself present, Cicero exposed the whole conspiracy in a famous philippic, known as "The First Oration against Catiline." The senators shrank from the conspirator, and left the seats about him empty. After a feeble effort to reply to Cicero, overwhelmed by a sense of his guilt, and the cries of "traitor" and "parricide" from the senators, Catiline fled from the chamber, and hurried out of the city to the camp of his followers in Etruria. In a desperate battle fought near Pistoria (62 B.C.), he was slain with many of his followers. His head was borne as a trophy to Rome. Cicero was hailed as the "Savior of his Country."

Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey. — Although the conspiracy of Catiline had failed, it was very easy to foresee that the downfall of the Roman republic was near at hand. Indeed, from this time on, only the name remains. The basis of the institutions of the republic — the old Roman virtue, integrity, patriotism, and faith in the gods — was gone, having been swept away by the tide of luxury, selfishness, and immorality produced by the long series of foreign conquests and robberies in which the Roman people had been engaged. The days of liberty at Rome were over. From this time forward the government was really in the hands of ambitious and popular leaders, or of corrupt combinations and "rings." Events gather about a few great names, and the annals of the republic become biographical rather than historical.

There were now in the state three men — Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey — who were destined to shape affairs. Gaius Julius Cæsar was born in the year 100 B.C. Although descended from an old

patrician family, still his sympathies, and an early marriage to the daughter of Cinna, one of the adherents of Marius, led him early to identify himself with the Marian, or democratic party. In every way Caesar courted public favor. He lavished enormous sums upon public games and tables. His debts are said to have amounted to 25,000,000 sesterces (\$1,250,000). His popularity was unbounded. A successful campaign in Spain had already made known to himself, as well as to others, his genius as a commander.

Marcus Licinius Crassus belonged to the senatorial, or aristocratic party. He owed his influence to his enormous wealth, being one of the richest men in the Roman world. His property was estimated at 7100 talents (about \$8,875,000).¹

With Gnaeus Pompey and his achievements we are already familiar. His influence throughout the Roman world was great; for, in settling and reorganizing the many countries he subdued, he had always taken care to reconstruct them in his own interest, as well as in that of the republic. The offices, as we have seen, were filled with his friends and adherents (see p. 299). This patronage had secured for him incalculable authority in the provinces. His veteran legionaries, too, were naturally devoted to the general who had led them so often to victory.

¹"The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sulla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous of involving all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase. Crassus observed also how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together. In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price by reason of the fire, and the distress the owners were in about the event. [Then the slaves would set to work and extinguish the fire, and Crassus at a small cost would repair the damage.] Hence in time he became master of a great part of Rome." — PLUTARCH.

The First Triumvirate (60 B.C.).—What is known as the First Triumvirate rested on the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the achievements of Pompey. It was a coalition or private arrangement entered into by these three men for the purpose of securing to themselves the control of public affairs. Each pledged himself to work for the interests of the others. Cæsar was the manager of the "ring." He skillfully drew away Pompey from the aristocratical party, and effected a reconciliation between him and Crassus, for they had been at enmity. It was agreed that Crassus and Pompey should aid Cæsar in securing the consulship. In return for this favor, Cæsar was to secure for Pompey a confirmation of his acts in the East, and allotments of land for his veterans, concessions which thus far had been jealously withheld by the senatorial party.

Everything fell out as the triumvirs had planned: Cæsar got the consulship, and Pompey received the lands for his soldiers. The two ablest senatorial leaders, Cato and Cicero, whose incorruptible integrity threatened the plans of the triumvirs, were got out of the way. Cato was given an appointment which sent him into honorable exile to the island of Cyprus; while Cicero, on the charge of having denied Roman citizens the right of trial in the matter of the Clodius conspirators, was banished from the capital, his mansion on the Palatine was razed to the ground, and the remainder of his property confiscated.

Cæsar's Conquests in Gaul and Britain (58-51 B.C.).—At the end of his consulship, Cæsar had assigned him the administration of the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. Already he was revolving in his mind plans for seizing supreme power. Beyond the Alps the Gallic and Germanic tribes were in restless movement. He saw there a grand field for military exploits, which should gain for him such glory and prestige as, in other fields, had been won, and were now enjoyed, by Pompey. With this achieved, and with a veteran army devoted to his interests, he might hope easily to attain that position at the head of affairs towards which his ambition was urging him.

In the spring of 58 B.C. alarming intelligence from beyond the Alps caused Cæsar to hasten from Rome into Transalpine Gaul. Now began a series of eight brilliant campaigns directed against the various tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In his admirable "Commentaries" Cæsar himself has left us a faithful and graphic account of all the memorable marches, battles, and sieges that filled the years between 58 and 51 B.C.

Cæsar's first campaign after arriving in Gaul was directed against the Helvetians. These people, finding themselves too much crowded in their narrow territory, hemmed in as they were between the Alps and the Jura ranges, had resolved to seek broader fields in the Gallic territories across the Rhone. Disregarding the commands of Cæsar, the entire nation, numbering with their allies 368,000 souls, left their old homes, and began their westward march. In a great battle Cæsar completely defeated the barbarians, and forced them back into their old home between the mountains, now quite large enough for the survivors, as barely a third of those that set out returned.

Cæsar next defeated the Suevi, a German tribe that, under the great chieftain Ariovistus, had crossed the Rhine, and were seeking settlements in Gaul. These people he forced back over the Rhine into their native forests. The two years following this campaign were consumed in subjugating the different tribes in Northern and Western Gaul, and in composing the affairs of the country. In the war with the Veneti was fought the first historic naval battle upon the waters of the Atlantic.

The year 55 B.C. marked two great achievements. Early in the spring of this year Cæsar constructed a bridge across the Rhine, and led his legions against the Germans in their native woods and swamps. In the autumn of the same year he crossed, by means of hastily constructed ships, the channel that separates the mainland from Britain, and after maintaining a foothold upon that island for two weeks withdrew his legions into Gaul for the winter. The following season he made another invasion of Britain; but, after some encounters with the fierce barbarians, recrossed to the

mainland, without having established any permanent garrisons in the island. Almost one hundred years passed away before the natives of Britain were again molested by the Romans (see p. 128).

In the year 52 B.C., while Cæsar was absent in Italy, a general revolt occurred among the Gallic tribes. It was a last desperate struggle for the recovery of their lost independence. Vercingetorix, chief of the Arverni, was the leader of the insurrection. For a time it seemed as though the Romans would be driven from the country. But Cæsar's despatch and genius saved the province to the republic. Vercingetorix and 80,000 of his warriors were shut up in Alesia, and were finally starved into submission. All Gaul was now quickly reconquered and pacified.

In his campaigns in Gaul, Cæsar had subjugated 300 tribes, captured 800 cities, and slain 1,000,000 barbarians — one third of the entire population of the country. Another third he had taken prisoners. Great enthusiasm was aroused at Rome by these victories. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed Cicero: "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed."

Results of the Gallic Wars. — One result of the Gallic wars of Cæsar was the Romanizing of Gaul. The country was opened to Roman traders and settlers, who carried with them the language, customs, and arts of Italy. Honors were conferred upon many of the Gallic chieftains, privileges were bestowed upon cities, and the franchise even granted to prominent and influential natives. As another result of the conquest of the country, Mommsen gives prominence to the checking of migratory movements of the German tribes, which gave "the necessary interval for Italian civilization to become established in Gaul, on the Danube, in Africa, and in Spain."

Crassus in the East. — In the year 56 B.C., while Cæsar was in the midst of his Gallic wars, he found time to meet Pompey, Crassus, and two hundred senators and magistrates who co-operated with the triumvirs, at Lucca, in Etruria, where, in a sort of convention, arrangements were made for another term of five years. (A

nomination by this league or "ring" of politicians and generals was equivalent to an election.) It was agreed that Cæsar's command in Gaul should be extended five years, and that Crassus and Pompey should be made consuls. All these measures were carried into effect, the elections at Rome being secured by intimidation, and by the votes of soldiers of the Gallic legions, to whom Cæsar had granted furloughs for this purpose. The government of the two Spains was given to Pompey, while that of Syria was assigned to Crassus.

The latter hurried to the East, hoping to rival there the brilliant conquests of Cæsar in the West. At this time the great Parthian empire occupied the immense reach of territory stretching from the valley of the Euphrates to that of the Indus. Notwithstanding that the Parthians were at peace with the Roman people, Crassus led his army across the Euphrates, and invaded their territory, intent upon a war of conquest and booty. In the midst of the Mesopotamian desert he was treacherously deserted by his guides; and his army, suddenly attacked by the Parthian cavalry, was almost annihilated. Crassus himself was slain, and his head, so it is said, was filled by his captors with molten gold, that he might be sated with the metal which he had so coveted during life.

In the death of Crassus, Cæsar lost his staunchest friend, one who had never failed him, and whose wealth had been freely used for his advancement. When Cæsar, before his consulship, had received a command in Spain, and the immense sums he owed at Rome were embarrassing him and preventing his departure, Crassus had come forward and generously paid more than a million dollars of his friend's debts.

Rivalry between Cæsar and Pompey.—After the death of Crassus the world belonged to Cæsar and Pompey. That the insatiable ambition of these two rivals should sooner or later bring them into collision was inevitable. Their alliance in the triumvirate was simply one of selfish convenience, not of friendship. While Cæsar was carrying on his brilliant campaigns in Gaul, Pompey was at Rome watching jealously the growing reputation of his

great rival. He strove, by a princely liberality, to win the affections of the common people: On the Field of Mars he erected an immense theatre with seats for 40,000 spectators. He gave magnificent games and set public tables; and when the interest of the people in the sports of the Circus flagged, he entertained them with gladiatorial combats. In a similar manner Cæsar strengthened himself with the people for the struggle which he plainly foresaw. He sought in every way to ingratiate himself with the Gauls: he increased the pay of his soldiers, conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of different cities, and sent to Rome enormous sums of gold to be expended in the erection of temples, theatres, and other public structures, and in the celebration of games and shows that should rival in magnificence those given by Pompey.

The terrible condition of affairs at the capital favored the ambition of Pompey. So selfish and corrupt were the members of the Senate, so dead to all virtue and to every sentiment of patriotism were the people, that even such patriots as Cato and Cicero saw no hope for the maintenance of the republic. The former favored the appointment of Pompey as sole consul for one year, which was about the same thing as making him dictator. "It is better," said Cato, "to choose a master than to wait for the tyrant whom anarchy will impose upon us." The "tyrant" in his and everybody's mind was Cæsar.

Pompey now broke with Cæsar, and attached himself again to the old aristocratical party, which he had deserted for the alliance and promises of the triumvirate. The death at this time of his wife Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, severed the bonds of relationship at the same moment that those of ostensible friendship were broken.

Cæsar crosses the Rubicon (49 B.C.). — Cæsar now demanded the consulship. He knew that his life would not be safe in Rome from the jealousy and hatred of his enemies without the security from impeachment and trial which that office would give. The Senate, under the manipulation of these same enemies, issued a

decree that he should resign his office, and disband his Gallic legions by a stated day. The crisis had now come. Cæsar ordered his legions to hasten from Gaul into Italy. Without waiting for their arrival, at the head of a small body of veterans that he had with him at Ravenna, he crossed the Rubicon, a little stream that marked the boundary of his province. This was a declaration of war. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast!"

The Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey (49-48 B.C.).—The bold movement of Cæsar produced great consternation at Rome. Realizing the danger of delay, Cæsar, without waiting for the Gallic legions to join him, marched southward. One city after another threw open its gates to him; legion after legion went over to his standard. Pompey and a great part of the senators hastened from Rome to Brundisium, and thence with about 25,000 men fled across the Adriatic into Greece. Within sixty days Cæsar made himself undisputed master of all Italy.

Pompey and Cæsar now controlled the Roman world. It was large, but not large enough for both these ambitious men. As to which was likely to become sole master it were difficult for one watching events at that time to foresee. Cæsar held Italy, Illyricum, and Gaul, with the resources of his own genius and the idolatrous attachment of his soldiers; Pompey controlled Spain, Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Greece, and the provinces of Asia, with the prestige of his great name and the enormous resources of the East.

Cæsar's first care was to pacify Italy. His moderation and prudence won all classes to his side. Many had looked to see the terrible scenes of the days of Marius and Sulla re-enacted. Cæsar, however, soon gave assurance that life and property should be held sacred. He needed money; but to avoid laying a tax upon the people, he asked for the treasure kept beneath the Capitol. Legend declared that this gold was the actual ransom-money which Brennus had demanded of the Romans and which Camillus had saved by his timely appearance (see p. 239). It was esteemed

sacred, and was never to be used save in case of another Gallic invasion. When Cæsar attempted to get possession of the treasure, the tribune Metellus prevented him; but Cæsar impatiently brushed him aside, saying, "The fear of a Gallic invasion is over: I have subdued the Gauls."

With order restored in Italy, Cæsar's next movement was to gain control of the wheat-fields of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. A single legion brought over Sardinia without resistance to the side of Cæsar. Cato, the lieutenant of Pompey, fled from before Curio out of Sicily. In Africa, however, the lieutenant of Cæsar sustained a severe defeat, and the Pompeians held their ground there until the close of the war. Cæsar, meanwhile, had subjugated Spain. In forty days the entire peninsula was brought under his authority. Massilia had ventured to close her gates against the conqueror; but a brief siege forced the city to capitulate. Cæsar was now free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East.

The Battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.).—From Brundisium Cæsar embarked his legions for Epirus. The passage was an enterprise attended with great danger; for Bibulus, Pompey's admiral, swept the sea with his fleets. It was not without having sustained severe losses that Cæsar effected a landing upon the shores of Greece. His legions mustered barely 20,000 men. Pompey's forces were at least double this number. Cæsar's attempt to capture the camp of his rival at Dyrrachium having failed, he slowly retired into Thessaly, and drew up his army upon the plains of Pharsalus. Here he was followed by Pompey. The adherents of the latter were so confident of an easy victory that they were already disputing about the offices at Rome, and were renting the most eligible houses fronting the public squares of the capital. The battle was at length joined. It proved Pompey's Waterloo. His army was cut to pieces. He himself fled from the field, and escaped to Egypt. Just as he was landing, he was stabbed by one of his former lieutenants, now an officer at the Egyptian court. The reigning Ptolemy had ordered Pompey's assassination

III LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

in hopes of pleasing Cæsar. "If we receive him," said he, "we shall make Cæsar our enemy and Pompey our master."

The head of the great general was severed from his body; and when Cæsar, who was pressing after Pompey in hot pursuit, landed in Egypt, the bloody trophy was brought to him. He turned from the sight with generous tears. It was no longer the head of his rival, but of his old associate and son-in-law. He ordered his assassins to be executed, and directed that fitting obsequies should be performed over his body.

Close of the Civil War.—Cæsar was detained at Alexandria nine months in settling a dispute respecting the throne of Egypt. After a severe contest he overthrew the reigning Ptolemy, and secured the kingdom to the celebrated Cleopatra and a younger brother. Intelligence was how brought from Asia Minor that Pharnaces, son of Mithradates the Great, was inciting a revolt among the peoples of that region. Cæsar met the Pontic king at Zela, defeated him, and in five days put an end to the war. His laconic message to the Senate, announcing his victory, is famous. It ran thus: "*Veni, vidi, vici*,"—"I came, I saw, I conquered."

Cæsar now hurried back to Italy, and thence proceeded to Africa, which the friends of the old republic had made their last chief rallying-place. At the great battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) they were crushed. Fifty thousand lay dead upon the field. Cato, who had been the very life and soul of the army, refusing to outlive the republic, took his own life.

Cæsar's Triumph.—Cæsar was now virtually lord of the Roman world.¹ Although he refrained from assuming the title of king, no Eastern monarch was ever possessed of more absolute power, or surrounded by more abject flatterers and sycophants. He was invested with all the offices and dignities of the state. The Senate made him perpetual dictator, and conferred upon him the powers of censor, consul, and tribune, with the titles of Pon-

¹ The sons of Pompey—Gnæus and Sextus—still held Spain. Cæsar overthrew their power in the decisive battle of Munda, 45 B.C.

tifex Maximus and Emperor. "He was to sit in a golden chair in the Senate-house, his image was to be borne in the procession of the gods, and the seventh month of the year was changed in his honor from Quintilis to Julius [whence our July]."

His triumph celebrating his many victories far eclipsed in magnificence anything that Rome had before witnessed. In the procession were led captive princes from all parts of the world. Beneath his standards marched soldiers gathered out of almost every country beneath the heavens. Seventy-five million dollars of treasure were displayed. Splendid games and tables attested the liberality of the conqueror. Sixty thousand couches were set for the multitudes. The shows of the theatre and the combats of the arena followed one another in an endless round. "Above the combats of the amphitheatre floated for the first time the awning of silk, the immense velarium of a thousand colors, woven from the rarest and richest products of the East, to protect the people from the sun" (Gibbon).

Cæsar as a Statesman.—Cæsar was great as a general, yet greater, if possible, as a statesman. The measures which he instituted evince profound political sagacity and surprising breadth of view. He sought to reverse the jealous and narrow policy of Rome in the past, and to this end rebuilt both Carthage and Corinth and founded numerous colonies in all the different provinces, in which he settled about 100,000 of the poorer citizens of the capital. Upon some of the provincials he conferred full Roman citizenship, and upon others Latin rights (see p. 247, note), and thus strove to blend the varied peoples and races within the boundaries of the empire into a real nationality, with community of interests and sympathies. He reformed the calendar so as to bring the festivals once more in their proper seasons, and provided against further confusion by making the year consist of 365 days, with an added day for every fourth or leap year.

Besides these achievements, Cæsar projected many vast undertakings, which the abrupt termination of his life prevented his carrying into execution. He ordered a survey of the enormous

domains of the state; he proposed to make a code or digest of the Roman laws—which work was left to be performed by the Emperor Justinian six centuries later; he also planned many public works and improvements at Rome, among which were schemes for draining the Pontine Marshes and for changing the course of the Tiber. He further proposed to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, to construct roads over the Apennines, and to form a library to take the place of the great Alexandrian collection, which had been partly destroyed during his campaign in Egypt. But all his plans were brought to a sudden end by the daggers of assassins.

The Death of Cæsar (44 B.C.). — Cæsar had his bitter personal enemies, who never ceased to plot his downfall. There were, too, sincere lovers of the old republic, who longed to see restored the liberty which the conqueror had overthrown. The impression began to prevail that Cæsar was aiming to make himself king. A crown was several times offered him in public by Mark Antony; but seeing the manifest displeasure of the people, he each time pushed it aside. Yet there is no doubt that secretly he desired it. It was reported that he proposed to rebuild the walls of Troy, whence the Roman race had sprung, and make that ancient capital the seat of the new Roman empire. Others professed to believe that the arts and charms of the Egyptian Cleopatra, who had borne him a son at Rome, would entice him to make Alexandria the centre of the proposed kingdom. So, many, out of love for Rome and the old republic, were led to enter into a conspiracy against the life of Cæsar with those who sought to rid themselves of the dictator for other and personal reasons.

The Ides (the 15th day) of March, 44 B.C., upon which day the Senate convened, witnessed the assassination. Seventy or eighty conspirators, headed by Cassius and Brutus, both of whom had received special favors from the hands of Cæsar, were concerned in the plot. The soothsayers must have had some knowledge of the plans of the conspirators, for they had warned Cæsar to "beware of the Ides of March." On his way to the Senate-

meeting that day, a paper warning him of his danger was thrust into his hand; but, not suspecting its urgent nature, he did not open it. As he entered the assembly chamber he observed the astrologer Spurinna, and remarked carelessly to him, referring to his prediction, "The Ides of March have come." "Yes," replied Spurinna, "but not gone."

No sooner had Cæsar taken his seat than the conspirators crowded about him as if to present a petition. Upon a signal from one of their number their daggers were drawn. For a moment Cæsar defended himself; but seeing Brutus, upon whom he had lavished gifts and favors, among the conspirators, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, "*Et tu, Brute!*"—"Thou, too, Brutus!" drew his mantle over his face, and received unresistingly their further thrusts. Pierced with twenty-three wounds, he sank dead at the foot of Pompey's statue.

Funeral Oration by Mark Antony.—The conspirators, or "liberators," as they called themselves, had thought that the Senate would confirm, and the people applaud, their act. But both people and senators, struck with consternation, were silent. Men's faces grew pale as they recalled the proscriptions of Sulla, and saw in the assassination of Cæsar the first act in a similar reign of terror. As the conspirators issued from the assembly hall, and entered the Forum, holding aloft their bloody daggers, instead of the expected acclamations they were met by an ominous silence. The liberators hastened for safety to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, going thither ostensibly for the purpose of giving thanks for the death of the tyrant.

Upon the day set for the funeral ceremonies, Mark Antony, the trusted friend and secretary of Cæsar, mounted the rostrum in the



MARK ANTONY.

Forum to deliver the usual funeral oration. He recounted the great deeds of Cæsar, the glory he had conferred upon the Roman name, dwelt upon his liberality and his munificent bequests to the people—even to some who were now his murderers; and when he had wrought the feelings of the multitude to the highest tension, he held up the robe of Cæsar, and showed the rents made by the daggers of the assassins. Cæsar had always been beloved by the people and idolized by his soldiers. They were now driven almost to frenzy with grief and indignation. Seizing weapons and

torches, they rushed through the streets, vowing vengeance upon the conspirators. The liberators, however, escaped from the fury of the mob and fled from Rome, Brutus and Cassius seeking refuge in Greece.

The Second Triumvirate.—Antony had gained possession of the will and papers of Cæsar, and now, under color of carrying out the testament of the dictator, according to a decree of the Senate, entered upon a course of high-handed



JULIUS CÆSAR.

(From a Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

usurpation. He was aided in his designs by Lepidus, one of Cæsar's old lieutenants. Very soon he was exercising all the powers of

a real dictator. "The tyrant is dead," said Cicero, "but the tyranny still lives." This was a bitter commentary upon the words of Brutus, who, as he drew his dagger from the body of Caesar, turned to Cicero, and exclaimed, "Rejoice, O Father of your Country, for Rome is free." Rome could not be free, the republic could not be re-established, because the old love for virtue and liberty had died out from among the people—had been overwhelmed by the rising tide of vice, corruption, sensuality, and irreligion that had set in upon the capital.

To what length Antony would have gone in his career of usurpation it is difficult to say, had he not been opposed at this point by Gaius Octavius, the grand-nephew of Julius Caesar, and the one whom he had named in his will as his heir and successor. Upon the Senate declaring in favor of Octavius, civil war immediately broke out between him and Antony and Lepidus. After several indecisive battles between the forces of the rival competitors, Octavius proposed to Antony and Lepidus a reconciliation. The three met on a small island in the Rhenus, a little stream in northern Etruria, and there formed a league known as the Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.).

The plans of the triumvirs were infamous. They first divided the world among themselves: Octavius was to have the government of the West; Antony, that of the East; while to Lepidus fell the control of Africa. A general proscription, such as had marked the coming to power of Sulla (see p. 297), was then resolved upon. It was agreed that each should give up to the assassin such friends of his as had incurred the ill will of either of the other triumvirs. Under this arrangement Octavius gave up his friend Cicero,—who had incurred the hatred of Antony by opposing his schemes,—and allowed his name to be put at the head of the list of the proscribed.

The friends of the orator urged him to flee the country. "Let me die," said he, "in my fatherland, which I have so often saved!" His attendants were hurrying him, half unwilling, towards the coast, when his pursuers came up and despatched him

in the litter in which he was being carried. His head was taken to Rome, and set up in front of the rostrum, "from which he had so often addressed the people with his eloquent appeals for liberty." It is told that Fulvia, the wife of Antony, ran her gold bodkin through the tongue, in revenge for the bitter philippics it had uttered against her husband. The right hand of the victim—the hand that had penned the eloquent orations—was nailed to the rostrum.

Cicero was but one victim among many hundreds. All the dreadful scenes of the days of Sulla were re-enacted. Three hundred senators and two thousand knights were murdered. The estates of the wealthy were confiscated, and conferred by the triumvirs upon their friends and favorites.

Last Struggle of the Republic at Philippi (42 B.C.).—The friends of the old republic, and the enemies of the triumvirs, were meanwhile rallying in the East. Brutus and Cassius were the animating spirits. The Asiatic provinces were plundered to raise money for the soldiers of the liberators. Octavius and Antony, as soon as they had disposed of their enemies in Italy, crossed the Adriatic into Greece, to disperse the forces of the republicans there. The liberators, advancing to meet them, passed over the Hellespont into Thrace.

Tradition tells how one night a spectre appeared to Brutus and seemed to say, "I am thy evil genius; we will meet again at Philippi." At Philippi, in Thrace, the hostile armies did meet (42 B.C.). In two successive engagements the new levies of the liberators were cut to pieces, and both Brutus and Cassius, believing the cause of the republic forever lost, committed suicide. It was, indeed, the last effort of the republic. The history of the events that lie between the action at Philippi and the establishment of the empire is simply a record of the struggles among the triumvirs for the possession of the prize of supreme power. After various redistributions of provinces, Lepidus was at length expelled from the triumvirate, and then again the Roman world, as in the times

of Caesar and Pompey, was in the hands of two masters — Antony in the East, and Octavius in the West.

Antony and Cleopatra. — After the battle of Philippi, Antony went into Asia for the purpose of settling the affairs of the provinces and vassal states there. He summoned Cleopatra, the fair queen of Egypt, to meet him at Tarsus, in Cilicia, there to give account to him for the aid she had rendered the liberators. She obeyed the summons, relying upon the power of her charms to appease the anger of the triumvir. She ascended the Cydnus in a gilded barge, with oars of silver and sails of purple silk. Beneath awnings wrought of the richest manufactures of the East, the beautiful queen, attired to personate Venus, reclined amidst lovely attendants dressed to represent cupids and nereids. Antony was completely fascinated, as had been the great Caesar before him, by the dazzling beauty of the "Serpent of the Nile." Enslaved by her enchantments, and charmed by her brilliant wit, in the pleasure of her company he forgot all else — ambition and honor and country.

The days and nights were spent in one round of banquets, games, and revelries. It is said that the queen, at the close of a banquet, in order to win a wager that she could consume 10,000,000 sesterces at one meal, dissolved, in a cup of vinegar, a pearl of fabulous worth, and then carelessly swallowed the costly draught. In ingenious ways she amused the Roman voluptuary, arraying herself now as Venus and then as Isis, while he personated Bacchus and Osiris. Upon their fishing excursions she employed divers to fasten enormous fishes to the hook of her lover.

Once, indeed, Antony did rouse himself and break away from his enslavement, to lead the Roman legions against the Parthians. With an army of 100,000 men he crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris, and with reckless daring plunged amidst the defiles and snowy passes of the mountains beyond. But the storms of approaching winter, and the incessant attacks of the Parthian cavalry, at length forced him to make a hurried and disastrous

retreat. The loss, the suffering, and the disgrace attending this ill-fated expedition rivalled the calamities and dishonor of the memorable defeat of Crassus. Antony hastened back to Egypt, and sought to forget his shame and disappointment amidst the revels of the Egyptian court.

The Battle of Actium (31 B.C.). — Affairs could not long continue in their present course. Antony had put away his faithful wife Octavia for the beautiful Cleopatra. It was whispered at Rome, and not without truth, that he proposed to make Alexandria the capital of the Roman world, and announce Caesarion, son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra, as heir of the empire. All Rome was stirred. It was evident that a conflict was at hand in which the question for decision would be whether the West should rule the East, or the East rule the West. All eyes were instinctively turned to Octavius as the defender of Italy, and the supporter of the sovereignty of the Eternal City. Both parties made the most gigantic preparations. Octavius met the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra just off the promontory of Actium, on the Grecian coast. While the issue of the battle that there took place was yet undecided, Cleopatra turned her galley in flight. The Egyptian ships, to the number of fifty, followed her example. Antony, as soon as he perceived the withdrawal of Cleopatra, forgot all else, and followed in her track with a swift galley. Overtaking the fleeing queen, the infatuated man was received aboard her vessel, and became her partner in the disgraceful flight.

The abandoned fleet and army surrendered to Octavius. The conqueror was now sole master of the civilized world. From this decisive battle (31 B.C.) are usually dated the end of the republic and the beginning of the empire. Some, however, make the establishment of the empire date from the year 27 B.C., as it was not until then that Octavius was formally invested with imperial powers.

Deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. — Octavius pursued Antony to Egypt, where the latter, deserted by his army, and informed by a messenger from the false queen that she was dead, committed suicide. This was exactly what Cleopatra anticipated he would

do, and hoped thus to rid herself of a now burdensome lover. When, however, the dying Antony, in accordance with his wish, was borne to her, the old love returned, and he expired in her arms.

Cleopatra then sought to enslave Octavius with her charms; but, failing in this, and becoming convinced that he proposed to take her to Rome that she might there grace his triumph, she took her own life, being in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Tradition says that she effected her purpose by applying a poisonous asp to her arm. But it is really unknown in what way she killed herself. It is only certain that, when the chamber of the mausoleum in which she had shut herself up was one day entered by the officers of Octavius, she was found lying dead among her attendants, with no mark of injury upon her body.

CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

	B.C.
Republic established and first consuls elected	509
First secession of plebeians	494
Cincinnatus made dictator	458
Election of first decemvirs	451
First censors elected	444
Capture of Veii	396
Sack of Rome by Gauls under Brennus	390
Samnite wars	343-290
War with Pyrrhus	282-272
First Punic War	264-241
Second Punic War	218-201
Third Punic War	149-146
Destruction of Numantia	133
First Servile War	134-132
Jugurthine War	111-104
Marius defeats the Teutones and Cimbri	102-101
Civil Wars between Marius and Sulla	82-80
Pompey defeats Mediterranean pirates	66
Conspiracy of Catiline	64-62
First triumvirate formed	60
Conquests of Caesar in Gaul and Britain	58-51
Battle of Pharsalus; Pompey flees to Egypt and is murdered	48
Battle of Thapsus; Caesar becomes dictator of Roman world	46
Murder of Caesar	44
Battle of Philippi; deaths of Brutus and Cassius	42
Republic ends with battle of Actium between Octavian and Antony	31

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(PROM 31 B.C. TO A.D. 180.)

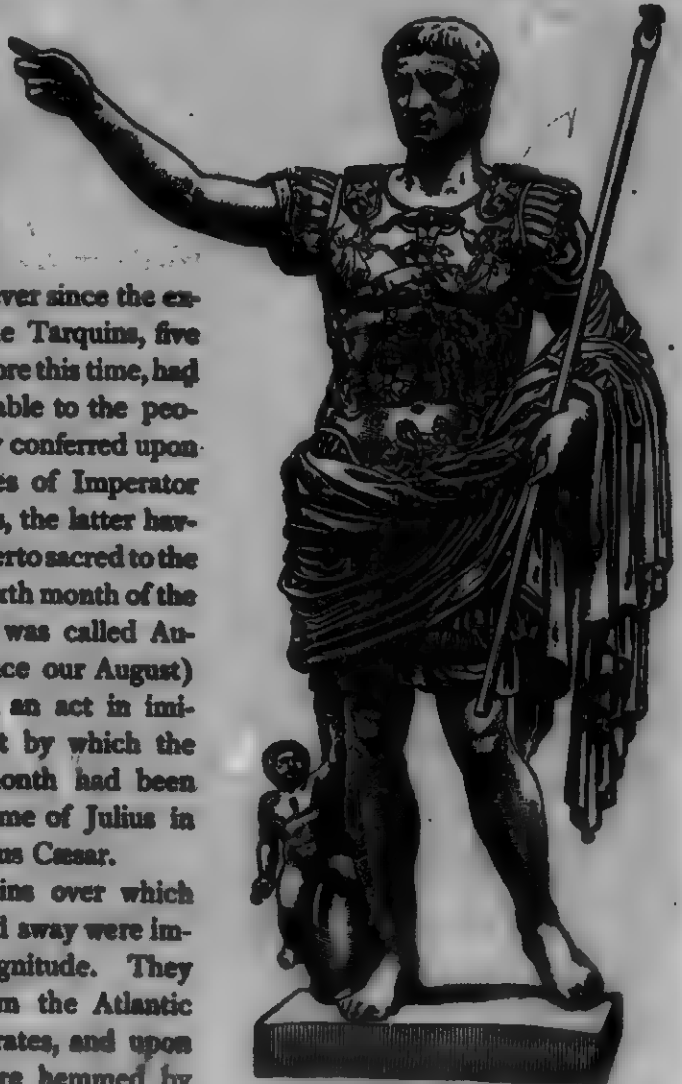
Reign of Augustus Cæsar (31 B.C. to A.D. 14).—The hundred years of strife which ended with the battle of Actium left the Roman republic, exhausted and helpless, in the hands of one wise enough and strong enough to remould its crumbling fragments in such a manner that the state, which seemed ready to fall to pieces, might prolong its existence for another five hundred years. It was a great work thus to create anew, as it were, out of anarchy and chaos, a political fabric that should exhibit such elements of perpetuity and strength. "The establishment of the Roman empire," says Merivale, "was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievements of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, are not to be compared with it for a moment."

The government which Octavius established was a monarchy in fact, but a republic in form. Mindful of the fate of Julius Cæsar, who fell because he gave the lovers of the republic reason to think that he coveted the title of king, Octavius carefully veiled his really absolute sovereignty under the forms of the old republican state. The Senate still existed; but so completely subjected were its members to the influence of the conqueror that the only function it really exercised was the conferring of honors and titles and abject flatteries upon its master. All the republican officials remained; but Octavius absorbed and exercised their chief powers and functions. He had the powers of consul, tribune, censor, and Pontifex Maximus. All the republican magistrates—the consuls, the tribunes, the prætors—were elected as usual; but they were simply the nominees and creatures of the emperor. They were

the effigies and figure-heads to delude the people into believing that the republic still existed. Never did a people seem more content with the shadow after the loss of the substance.

The Senate, acting under the inspiration of Octavius, withheld from him the title of king, which ever since the expulsion of the Tarquins, five centuries before this time, had been intolerable to the people; but they conferred upon him the titles of Imperator and Augustus, the latter having been hitherto sacred to the gods. The sixth month of the Roman year was called Augustus (whence our August) in his honor, an act in imitation of that by which the preceding month had been given the name of Julius in honor of Julius Cæsar.

The domains over which Augustus held sway were imperial in magnitude. They stretched from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, and upon the north were hemmed by the forests of Germany and the bleak steppes of Scythia, and were bordered on the south by



AUGUSTUS.

leving
more







the sands of the African desert and the dreary wastes of Arabia, which seemed the boundaries set by nature to dominion in those directions. Within these limits were crowded more than 100,000,000 people, embracing every conceivable condition and variety in race and culture, from the rough barbarians of Gaul to the refined voluptuary of the East.

Octavius was the first to moderate the ambition of the Romans, and to counsel them not to attempt to conquer any more of the world, but rather to devote their energies to the work of consolidating the domains already acquired. He saw the dangers that would attend any further extension of the boundaries of the state.

The reign of Augustus lasted forty-four years, from 31 B.C. to A.D. 14. It embraced the most splendid period of the annals of Rome. Under the patronage of the emperor, and that of his favorite minister Mæcenas, poets and writers flourished and made this the "golden age" of Latin literature. During this reign Virgil composed his immortal epic of the *Æneid*, and Horace his famous odes; while Livy wrote his inimitable history, and Ovid his *Metamorphoses*. Many who lamented the fall of the republic sought solace in the pursuit of letters; and in this they were encouraged by Augustus, as it gave occupation to many restless spirits that would otherwise have been engaged in political intrigues against his government.

Augustus was also a munificent patron of architecture and art. He adorned the capital with many splendid structures. Said he proudly, "I found Rome a city of brick; I left it a city of marble." The population of the city at this time was probably about 1,000,000. Two other cities of the empire, Antioch and Alexandria, are thought to have had each about this same number of citizens. These cities, too, were made magnificent with architectural and art embellishments.

Although the government of Augustus was disturbed by some troubles upon the frontiers, still never before, perhaps, did the world enjoy so long a period of general rest from the preparation and turmoil of war. Three times during this auspicious reign the

gates of the Temple of Janus at Rome, which were open in time of war and closed in time of peace, were shut. Only twice before during the entire history of the city had they been closed, so constantly had the Roman people been engaged in war. It was in the midst of this happy reign, when profound peace prevailed throughout the civilized world, that Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea. The event was unheralded at Rome; yet it was filled with profound significance, not only for the Roman empire, but for the world.

The latter years of the life of Augustus were clouded both by domestic bereavement and national disaster. His beloved nephew Marcellus, and his two grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, whom he purposed making his heirs, were all removed by death; and then, far away in the German forest, his general Varus, who had attempted to rule the freedom-loving Teutons as he had governed the abject Asiatics of the Eastern provinces, was surprised by the barbarians, led by their brave chief Hermann, — called Arminius by the Romans, — and his army destroyed almost to a man (A.D. 9). Twenty thousand of the legionaries lay dead and unburied in the tangled woods and morasses of Germany.

The disaster caused great consternation at Rome; for it was feared that the German tribes would now cross the Rhine, effect an alliance with the Gauls, and then that these united hordes would pour over the Alps into Italy. Augustus, wearied and worn already with advancing age, the cares of empire, and domestic affliction, was inconsolable. He paced his palace in agony, and kept exclaiming, "O Varus! Varus! give me back my legions! give me back my legions!" But Tiberius, whom Augustus, after the death of Gaius and of Lucius, had appointed his heir and successor, so carefully guarded the Rhine that the Germans did not attempt the passage, and Italy was saved from the threatened invasion.

The victory of Arminius over the Roman legions was an event of the greatest significance in the history of European civilization. Germany was almost overrun by the Roman army. The Teutonic tribes were on the point of being completely subjugated and

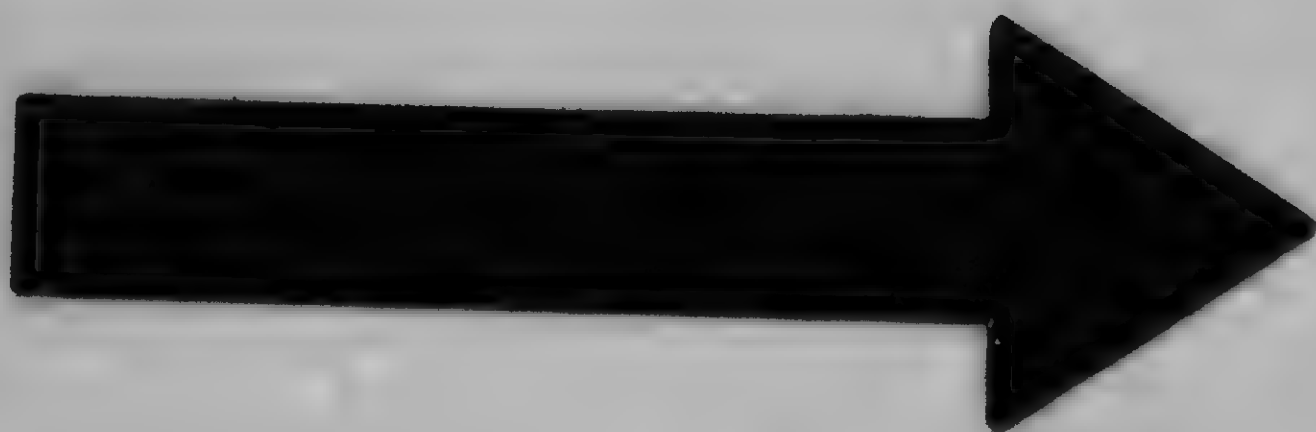
Romanized, as had been the Celts of Gaul before them. Had this occurred, the entire history of Europe would have been changed; for the Germanic element is the one that has given shape and color to the important events of the last fifteen hundred years. Among these barbarians, too, were our ancestors. Had Rome succeeded in exterminating or enslaving them, Britain, as Creasy says, might never have received the name of England, and the great English nation might never have had an existence.¹

In the year A.D. 14, Augustus died, having reached the seventysixth year of his age. His last words to the friends gathered about his bedside were, "If I have acted well my part in life's drama, greet my departure with your applause." It was believed that the soul of Augustus ascended visibly amidst the flames of his funeral pyre. By decree of the Senate divine worship was accorded to him, and temples were erected in his honor.

One of the most important of the acts of Augustus, in its influence upon following events, was the formation of the Prætorian Guard, which was designed for a sort of body-guard to the emperor. In the succeeding reign this body of soldiers, about 10,000 in number, was given a permanent camp alongside the city walls. It soon became a formidable power in the state, and made and unmade emperors at will.

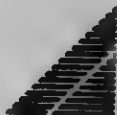
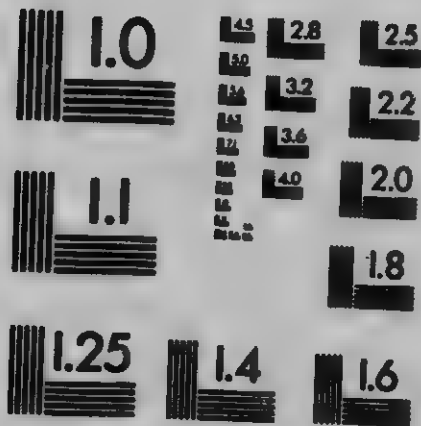
Reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). — Tiberius succeeded to an unlimited sovereignty. The Senate conferred upon him all the titles that had been worn by Augustus. One of the first acts of Tiberius gave the last blow to the ancient republican institutions. He took away from the popular assembly the privilege of electing the consuls and prætors, and bestowed the same upon the Senate, which, however, must elect from candidates presented by the emperor. As the Senate was the creation of the emperor, who as

¹ "We stand here at a turning-point in national destinies. History, too, has its flow and its ebb; here, after the tide of Roman sway over the world has attained its height, the ebb sets in. Northward of Italy the Roman rule had for a few years reached as far as the Elbe; after the battle of Varus its bounds were the Rhine and the Danube." — MOMMSEN.



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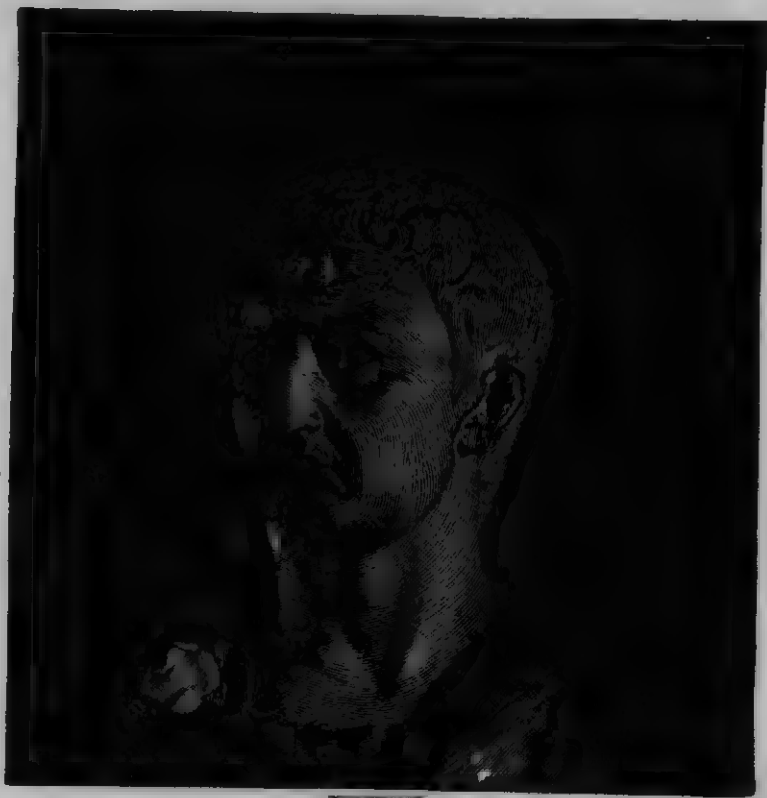
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censor made up the list of its members, he was now of course the source and fountain of all patronage. During the first years of his reign, Tiberius used his practically unrestrained authority with moderation and justice, being seemingly desirous of promoting the best interests of all classes in his vast empire.



TIBERIUS.

(From a Bust in the Capitoline Museum.)

The beginning of his reign was marked by revolts among the legions, the most serious discontent manifesting itself among those guarding the Rhine, who wished to raise to the throne their favorite general Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius. But Germanicus sternly refused to take part in such an act of treachery, reproved his soldiers, and then drew their attention from such thoughts of

disloyalty by leading them across the Rhine to recover the lost standards of Varus. He was so far successful in this bold enterprise as to retake the lost eagles and capture the wife of Arminius. But at this moment, when Germanicus seemed on the point of laying the Roman yoke upon the tribes of Germany, Tiberius, moved, it is conjectured, by jealousy,¹ recalled him from the Rhenish frontier, and sent him into the Eastern provinces, where he soon after died, having been poisoned, as was charged, by an agent of the jealous emperor.

Despotic power is a dangerous possession, likely to prove terribly harmful to him who wields it, as well as to those over whom it is exercised. Very few natures can withstand the seductive temptations, the corrupting influences, of unrestrained and irresponsible authority.² Hence the long series of excesses and crimes which we shall now find making up a large part of the annals of the Roman emperors.

Whatever may have been the intentions with which Tiberius began his reign he soon yielded to the promptings of a naturally cruel, suspicious, and jealous nature, and entered upon a course of the most high-handed tyranny. He enforced oppressively an old law, known as the *Law of Majestas*, which made it a capital offence for any one to speak a careless word, or even to entertain

¹ Other motives doubtless concurred. "They [Augustus and Tiberius] recognized the plans pursued by them for twenty years for the changing of the boundary to the north as incapable of execution, and the subjugation and mastery of the region between the Rhine and the Elbe appeared to them to transcend the resources of the empire." — MOMMSEN.

² "Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero [were] men whose names burnt themselves forever into the memory of the race. All these men, in different ways, illustrated the terrible efficacy of absolute world-dominion to poison the character and even to unhinge the intellect of him who wielded it. Standing as it were on the Mount of Temptation, and seeing all the kingdoms of the world and all the glory of them stretched at an immeasurable distance below their feet, they were seized with a dizziness of soul, and, professing themselves to be gods, did deeds at the instigation of their wild hearts and whirling brains such as men still shudder to think of." — HODGKIN.

an unfriendly thought, respecting the emperor. "It was dangerous to speak, and equally dangerous to keep silent," says Leighton, "for silence even might be construed into discontent." Rewards were offered to informers, and hence sprang up a class of persons called "delato" who acted as spies upon society. Often false charges were made, to gratify personal enmity; and many, especially of the wealthy class, were accused and put to death that their property might be confiscated.

Tiberius appointed, as his chief minister and as commander of the prætorians, one Sejanus, a man of the lowest and most corrupt life. This officer actually persuaded Tiberius to retire to the little island of Capræ, in the Bay of Naples, and leave to him the management of affairs at Rome. The emperor built several villas in different parts of the beautiful islet, and, having gathered a band of congenial companions, passed in this pleasant retreat the later years of his reign. Both Tacitus the historian and Suetonius the biographer tell many stories of the scandalous profligacy of the emperor's life on the island; but these tales, it should be added, are discredited by some.

Meanwhile, Sejanus was ruling at Rome very much according to his own will. No man's life was safe. He even grew so bold as to plan the assassination of the emperor himself. His designs, however, became known to Tiberius; and the infamous and disloyal minister was arrested and put to death.

After the execution of his minister, Tiberius ruled more despotically than before. Multitudes sought refuge from his tyranny in suicide. Death at last relieved the world of the monster. His end was probably hastened by his attendants, who are believed to have smothered him in his bed, as he lay dying.

It was in the midst of the reign of Tiberius that, in a remote province of the Roman empire, the Saviour was crucified. Animated by an unparalleled missionary spirit, his followers traversed the length and breadth of the empire, preaching everywhere the "glad tidings." Men's loss of faith in the gods of the old mythologies, the softening and liberalizing influence of Greek culture,

the unification of the whole civilized world under a single government, the widespread suffering and the expressible weariness of the oppressed and servile classes, — all these things had prepared the soil for the seed of the new ages. In less than three centuries the Pagan empire had become Christian not only in name, but also very largely in fact. This conversion of Rome is one of the most important events in all history. A new element is here introduced into civilization, an element which we shall find giving color and character to very much of the story of the eighteen centuries that we have yet to study.

Reign of Caligula (A.D. 37-41). — Gaius Cæsar, better known as Caligula, son of Germanicus, was only twenty-five years of age when the death of Tiberius called him to the throne. His surname Caligula was given him by the German legions, because, when a little boy, he was kept by his father in the camp, and to please the men, dressed like a little soldier with military buskins (*caligæ*).

His career was very similar to that of Tiberius. After a few months spent in arduous application to the affairs of the empire, during which time his many acts of kindness and piety won for him the affections of all classes, the mind of the young emperor became unsettled. His rest was feverish; and often he paced the halls of his palace the night through with wild and incoherent ravings. He soon gave himself up to the most detestable dissipations. The cruel sports of the amphitheatre possessed for him a strange fascination. When animals failed, he ordered spectators to be seized indiscriminately and thrown to the beasts. He even entered the lists himself, and fought as a gladiator upon the arena.

Stories without number are told illustrating his insanities and extravagances. He is said to have caused persons to be tortured at his banquets, that their cries and groans might add to the enjoyment of the meal. He lamented that no great calamity marked his reign, such as that which had occurred in the reign of Tiberius, when 50,000 persons lost their lives in the fall of the great theatre at Fidenæ. In a sanguinary mood, he wished that "the people of Rome had but one neck." He built a bridge from his

palace on the Palatine to the temple on the Capitoline hill, that he might be "next neighbor" to Jupiter. In order to rival the Hellespontine bridges of Xerxes, he constructed a bridge over the bay at Baïæ. The structure broke beneath the triumphal procession on the day of dedication; and Caligula, delighted with the spectacle of the struggling victims, forbade any one to attempt to save the drowning.

It is said that he emulated the example of Cleopatra by dissolving costly gems and drinking them at a draught. A single dinner cost \$400,000. As an insult to his nobles he gave out that he proposed to make his favorite horse, Incitatus, consul, and frequently invited the steed from his ivory stable to eat gilded grain at the imperial board. He personated in turn all the gods and goddesses, arraying himself at one time as Hercules or Bacchus, and again as Juno or Venus. He declared himself divine, set up his statues for worship, and even removed the heads of Jupiter's statues and put his own in their place.

During his reign he set out on an expedition against Britain; but on reaching the sea he set his soldiers to work collecting shells along the beach, which "spoils of the ocean" he then sent back to Rome as the trophies of his enterprise. A campaign against the Germans ended at the Rhenish frontier with not captives enough in his hands for a triumph; accordingly, he hired, so the story runs, a great number of Gauls to personate German prisoners, and thus supplied the embarrassing deficiency.

After four years the insane career of Caligula was brought to a close by some of the officers of the prætorian guard whom he had wantonly insulted.

Reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54).—The reign of Claudius, Caligula's successor, was signalized by the conquest of Britain. Nearly a century had now passed since the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar, who, as has been seen (see p. 102), simply made a reconnoissance of the island and then withdrew. Claudius conquered all the southern portion of the island, and founded many colonies, which in time became important centres of Roman

trade and culture. The leader of the Britons was Caractacus. He was taken captive and carried to Rome. Gazing in astonishment upon the magnificence of the imperial city, he exclaimed, "How can people possessed of such splendor at home envy Caractacus his humble cottage in Britain?"

Claudius distinguished his reign by the execution of many important works. At the mouth of the Tiber he constructed a magnificent harbor, called the Portus Romanus. The Claudian Aqueduct, which he completed, was a stupendous work, bringing water to the city from a distance of forty-five miles.

The delight of the people in gladiatorial shows had at this time become almost an insane frenzy. Claudius determined to give an entertainment that should render insignificant all similar efforts. Upon a large lake, whose sloping bank afforded seats for the vast multitude of spectators, he exhibited a naval battle, in which two opposing fleets, bearing 19,000 gladiators, fought as though in real battle, till the water was filled with thousands of bodies, and covered with fragments of the broken ships.

Throughout his life Claudius was ruled by intriguing favorites and unworthy wives. For his fourth wife he married the "wicked Agrippina," who secured his death by means of a dish of poisoned mushrooms, in order to make place for the succession of her son Nero.

Reign of Nero (A.D. 54-68).—Nero was fortunate in having for his preceptor the great philosopher and moralist Seneca; but never was teacher more unfortunate in his pupil. For five years Nero, under the influence of Seneca and Burrhus, the latter the commander of the prætorians, ruled with moderation and equity. But his own mother, Agrippina, intrigued against him in favor of a younger son; and Nero, after failing in an attempt to drown her while she was crossing the bay at Baïæ, secured her death by the hand of an assassin. He now broke away from the guidance of his tutor Seneca, and entered upon a career filled with crimes of almost incredible enormity. The dagger and poison were in constant demand. The use of the latter had become a "fine art"

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

in the hands of a regular profession. Both were employed almost unceasingly to remove persons that had incurred his hatred, or who possessed wealth that he coveted. Like Caligula, he degraded the imperial purple by contending in the gladiatorial combats of the arena and in the games of the circus.

It was in the tenth year of his reign that the so-called Great Fire laid more than half of Rome in ashes. Temples, monuments, and buildings of every description were swept away by the flames, that surged like a sea through the valleys and about the base of the hills occupied by the city. The people, in the dismay of the moment, were ready to catch up any rumor respecting the origin of the fire. It was reported that Nero had ordered the conflagration to be lighted, and that from the roof of his palace he had enjoyed the spectacle, and amused himself by singing a poem which he himself had written, entitled the "Sack of Troy."

Nero did everything in his power to discredit the rumor. He went in person amidst the sufferers, and distributed money with his own hand. To further turn attention from himself, he accused the Christians of having conspired to destroy the city, in order to help out their prophecies. The doctrine which was taught by some of the new sect respecting the second coming of Christ, and the destruction of the world by fire, lent color to the charge. The persecution that followed was one of the most cruel recorded in the history of the Church. Many victims were covered with pitch and burned at night, to serve as torches in the imperial gardens. Tradition preserves the names of the apostles Peter and Paul as victims of this Neronian persecution.

As to Rome, the conflagration was a blessing in disguise. Requisitions of money and material were made upon all the Roman world for the rebuilding of the burnt districts. The city rose from its ashes as quickly as Athens from her ruins at the close of the Persian wars. The new buildings were made fire-proof; and the narrow, crooked streets reappeared as broad and beautiful avenues. Water was distributed from the aqueducts

through all the houses and grounds. A considerable portion of the burnt region was appropriated by Nero for the buildings and grounds of an immense palace, called the "Golden House." It covered so much space that the people "maliciously hinted" that Nero had fired the old city in order to make room for it.

The emperor secured money for his enormous expenditures by new extortions, murders, and confiscations. No one of wealth knew but that his turn might come next. A conspiracy was formed among the nobles to relieve the state of the monster. The plot was discovered, and again "the city was filled with funerals." Lucan the poet, and Seneca, the old preceptor of Nero, both fell victims to the tyrant's rage.

Nero now made a tour through the East, and there plunged deeper and deeper into every shame, sensuality, and crime. The tyranny and the disgrace were no longer endurable. Almost at the same moment the legions in several of the provinces revolted. The Senate decreed that the emperor was a public enemy, and condemned him to a disgraceful death by scourging, to avoid which he instructed a slave how to give him a fatal thrust. His last words were, "What a loss my death will be to art!"

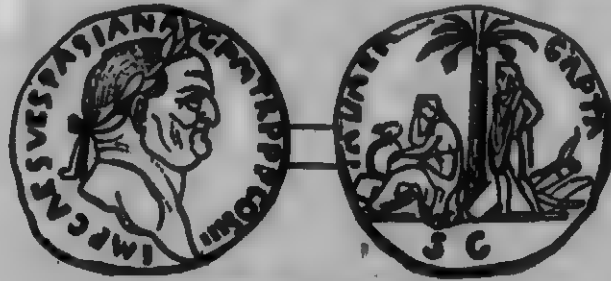
Nero was the sixth and last of the Julian line. The family of the Great Cæsar was now extinct; but the name remained, and was adopted by all the succeeding emperors.

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (A.D. 68-69).—These three names are usually grouped together, as their reigns were all short and uneventful. The succession, upon the death of Nero and the extinction in him of the Julian line, was in dispute, and the legions in different quarters supported the claims of their favorite leaders. One after another the three aspirants named were killed in bloody struggles for the imperial purple. The last, Vitellius, was hurled from the throne by the soldiers of Vespasian, the old and beloved commander of the legions in Palestine, which were at this time engaged in war with the Jews.

Reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79).—The accession of Flavius Vespasian marks the beginning of a period, embracing three

reigns, known as the *Flavian Age* (A.D. 69-96). Vespasian's reign was signalized both by important military achievements abroad and by stupendous public works undertaken at Rome.

After one of the most harassing sieges recorded in history, Jerusalem was taken by Titus, son of Vespasian. The Temple



COIN OF VESPASIAN.

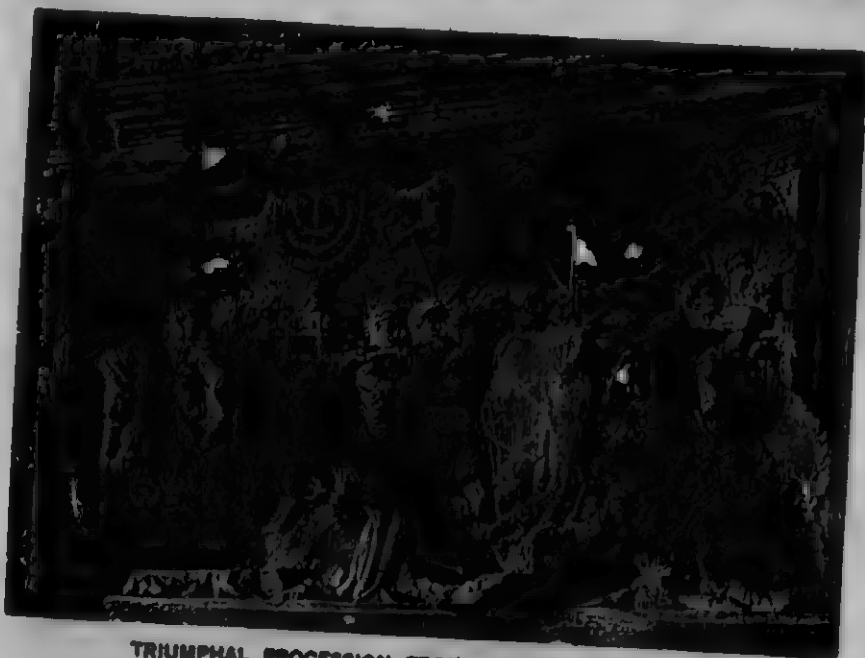
was destroyed, and more than a million of Jews that were crowded in the city are believed to have perished. Great multitudes suffered death by

crucifixion. The miserable remnants of the nation were scattered everywhere over the world. Josephus, the great historian, accompanied the conqueror to Rome. In imitation of Nebuchadnezzar, Titus robbed the Temple of its sacred utensils, and bore them away as trophies. Upon the triumphal arch at Rome that bears his name may be seen at the present day the sculptured representation of the golden candlestick, which was one of the memorials of the war.

In the opposite corner of the empire a dangerous revolt of the Gauls was suppressed, and in the island of Britain the Roman commander Agricola subdued or crowded back the native tribes until he had extended the frontiers of the empire into what is now Scotland. Then, as a protection against the incursions of the Caledonians, the ancestors of the Scottish Highlanders, he constructed a line of fortresses from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde.

Vespasian rebuilt the Capitoline temple, which had been burned during the struggle between his soldiers and the adherents of Vitellius; he constructed a new forum which bore his own name; and also began the erection of the celebrated Flavian amphitheatre, which was completed by his successor. After a most

pre-terious reign of ten years, Vespasian died A.D. 79, the first emperor after Augustus that did not meet with a violent death. At the last moment he requested his attendants to raise him upon his feet that he might "die standing," as befitted a Roman emperor.



TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS.

(Showing the Seven-branched Candelabrum and Other Trophies from the Temple at Jerusalem.)

Reign of Titus (A.D. 79-81).— In a short reign of two years Titus won the title, the "Delight of Mankind." He was unwearied in acts of benevolence and in bestowal of favors. Having let a day slip by without some act of kindness performed, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, "I have lost a day."

Titus completed and dedicated the great Flavian amphitheatre begun by his father, Vespasian. This vast structure, which accommodated more than 80,000 spectators, is better known as the Colosseum—a name given it either because of its gigantic proportions, or on account of a colossal statue of Nero which happened to stand near it.

The reign of Titus, though so short, was signalized by two great disasters. The first was a conflagration at Rome, which was almost as calamitous as the Great Fire in the reign of Nero. The second was the destruction, by an eruption of Vesuvius, of the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The cities were buried beneath showers of cinders, ashes, and streams of volcanic mud. Pliny the Elder, the great naturalist, venturing too near the mountain to investigate the phenomenon, lost his life.¹



STREET IN POMPEII. (A Reconstruction.)

Domitian — Last of the Twelve Cæsars (A.D. 81–96). — Domitian, the brother of Titus, was the last of the line of emperors

¹ In the year 1713, sixteen centuries after the destruction of the cities, the ruins were discovered by some persons engaged in digging a well, and since then extensive excavations have been made, which have uncovered a large part of Pompeii, and revealed to us the streets, homes, theatres, baths, shops, temples, and various monuments of the ancient city—all of which presents to us a very vivid picture of Roman life during the imperial period, eighteen hundred years ago.

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known as "the Twelve Cæsars." The title, however, was assumed by, and is applied to, all the succeeding emperors: the sole reason that the first twelve princes are grouped together is because the Roman biographer Suetonius completed the lives of that number only.

Domitian's reign was an exact contrast to that of his brother Titus. It was one succession of extravagances, tyrannies, confiscations, and murders. Under this emperor took place what is known in church history as "the second persecution of the Christians." This class, as well as the Jews, were the special objects of Domitian's hatred, because they refused to worship the statues of himself which he had set up.

The last of the Twelve Cæsars perished in his own palace, and by the hands of members of his own household. The Senate ordered his infamous name to be erased from the public monuments, and to be blotted from the records of the Roman state.

The Five Good Emperors: Reign of Nerva (A.D. 96-98). — The five emperors — Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines — that succeeded Domitian were elected by the Senate, which during this period assumed something of its former weight and influence in the affairs of the empire. The wise and beneficent administration of the government by these rulers secured for them the enviable distinction of being called "the five good emperors." Nerva died after a short reign of sixteen months, and the sceptre passed into the stronger hands of the able commander Trajan, whom Nerva had previously made his associate in the government.

Reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117). — Trajan was a native of Spain, and a soldier by profession and talent. His ambition to achieve military renown led him to undertake distant and important conquests. It was the policy of Augustus — a policy adopted by most of his successors — to make the Danube in Europe and the Euphrates in Asia the limits of the Roman empire in those respective quarters. But Trajan determined to push the frontiers of his dominions beyond both these rivers, scorning to permit Nature,

by these barriers, to mark out the confines of Roman sovereignty. He crossed the Danube by means of a bridge, the foundations of which may still be seen, and subjugated the bold and warlike Dacian tribes lying behind that stream — tribes that had often



TRAJAN.

threatened the peace of the empire. After celebrating his victories in a magnificent triumph at Rome, Trajan turned to the East, led his legions across the Euphrates, reduced Armenia, and wrested from the Parthians most of the territory which anciently formed the heart of the Assyrian monarchy. To Trajan belongs the distinction of extending the boundaries of the empire to the most distant points to which Roman ambition and prowess were ever able to push them.

But Trajan was something besides a soldier. He had a taste for literature: Juvenal, Plutarch, and the younger Pliny wrote under his patronage; and, moreover, as is true of almost all great conquerors, he had a perfect passion for building. Among the great works with which

he embellished the capital was the Trajan Forum. Here he erected the celebrated marble shaft known as Trajan's column. It is 147 feet high, and is wound from base to summit with a spiral band of sculptures, containing more than 25,000 human

figures. The column is nearly as perfect to-day as when reared eighteen centuries ago. It was intended to commemorate the Dacian conquests of Trajan; and its pictured sides are the best, and almost the only, record we now possess of those wars.

Respecting the rapid spread of Christianity at this time, the character of the early professors of the new faith, and the light in which they were viewed by the rulers of the Roman world, we have very important evidence in a certain letter written by Pliny the Younger to the emperor in regard to the Christians of Pontus, in Asia Minor, of which remote province Pliny was governor.



BESIEGING A DACIAN CITY: (from Trajan's Column.)

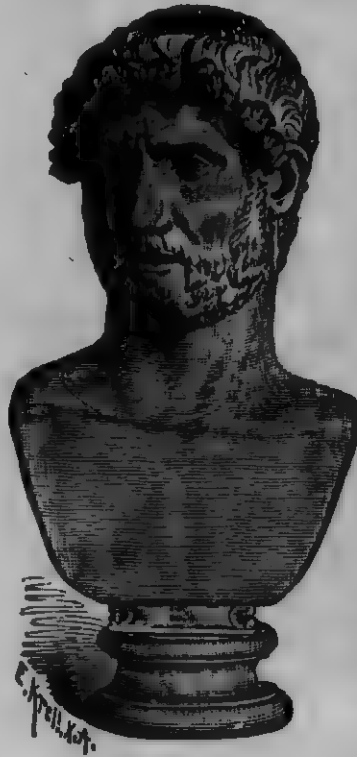
Pliny speaks of the new creed as a "contagious superstition, that had seized not cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country." Yet he could find no fault in the converts to the new doctrines. Notwithstanding this, however, because the Christians steadily refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods, he ordered many to be put to death for their "inflexible obstinacy."

Trajan died A.D. 117, after a reign of nineteen years, one of the most prosperous and fortunate that had yet befallen the lot of the Roman people.

Reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138).—Hadrian, a kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him in the imperial office. He possessed great ability, and displayed admirable moderation and prudence in the

administration of the government. He gave up the territory conquered by Trajan in the East, and made the Euphrates once more the boundary of the empire in that quarter. He also broke down the bridge that Trajan had built over the Danube, and made that stream the real frontier line, notwithstanding the Roman garrisons were still maintained in Dacia. Hadrian saw plainly that Rome could not safely extend any more widely the frontiers of the empire. Indeed, so active and threatening were the enemies of

the empire in the East, and so daring and numerous had now become its barbarian assailants of the North, that there was reason for the greatest anxiety lest they should break through even the old and strong lines of the Danube and the Euphrates, and pour their devastating hordes over the provinces.



HADRIAN.

More than fifteen years of his reign were spent by Hadrian in making tours of inspection through all the different provinces of the empire. He visited Britain, and secured the Roman possessions there against the Picts and Scots by erecting a continuous wall across the island. Next he journeyed through Gaul and Spain, and then visited in different tours all the remaining countries bordering upon the Mediterranean. He ascended the Nile, and, traveller-like,

carved his name upon the vocal Memnon. The cities which he visited he decorated with temples, theatres, and other monuments. Some places, however, including Antioch, which received their emperor ungraciously, he neglected to make the recipients of his royal liberality. The atmosphere of Athens, with its

schools and scholars, was especially congenial to his inquiring spirit; and upon that city he lavished large sums in art adornments until it almost seemed as though the Periclean Age had returned to the Attic capital.

In the year 131, the Jews in Palestine, who had in a measure recovered from the blow Titus had given their nation, broke out in desperate revolt, because of the planting of a Roman colony upon the almost desolate site of Jerusalem, and the placing of the statue of Jupiter in the Holy Temple. More than half a million of Jews perished in the useless struggle, and the survivors were driven into exile — the last dispersion of the race.

The latter years of his reign Hadrian passed at Rome. It was here that this princely builder erected his most splendid structures. Among these was the Mole, or Mausoleum, of Hadrian, an immense structure surmounted by a gilded dome, erected on the banks of the Tiber, and designed as a tomb for himself (see p. 394).

With all his virtues, Hadrian was foolishly vain of his accomplishments, impatient of contradiction, and often most unreasonable and imperious. It is related that he put to death the architect Apollodorus for venturing to criticise the royal taste in some architectural matter. Favorinus, the rhetorician, was evidently more judicious; for when asked "why he suffered the emperor to silence him in an argument on a point of grammar, he replied, 'It is ill disputing with the master of thirty legions.'"

The Antonines (A.D. 138-180). — Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, and his successor, gave the Roman empire an administration singularly pure and parental. Of him it has been said that "he was the first, and, saving his colleague and successor Aurelius, the only one of the emperors who devoted himself to the task of government with a single view to the happiness of his people." Throughout his long reign of twenty-three years, the empire was in a state of profound peace. The attention of the historian is attracted by no striking events, which fact, as many have not failed to observe, illustrates

admirably the oft-repeated maxim, "Happy is that people whose annals are brief."

Antoninus, early in his reign, united with himself in the government his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, and upon the death of the former (A.D. 161) the latter succeeded quietly to his place and work. His studious habits won for him the title of "Philosopher." He belonged to the school of the Stoics, and was a most thoughtful writer. His *Meditations* breathe the tenderest sentiments of devotion and benevolence, and make the nearest approach to the spirit of Christianity of all the writings of Pagan antiquity. He established an institution or home for orphan girls; and, finding the poorer classes throughout Italy burdened by their taxes and greatly in arrears in paying them, he caused all the tax-claims to be heaped in the Forum and burned.



ANTONINUS PIUS.

(From a Coin in the Berlin Museum.)

The tastes and sympathies of Aurelius would have led him to choose a life passed in retirement and study at the capital; but hostile movements of the Parthians, and especially invasions of the barbarians along the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers, called him from his books, and forced him to spend most of the latter years of his reign in the camp. The Parthians, who had violated their treaty with Rome, were chastised by the lieutenants of the emperor, and Mesopotamia again fell under Roman authority.

This war drew after it a series of terrible calamities. The returning soldiers brought with them the Asiatic plague, which swept off vast numbers, especially in Italy, where entire cities and districts were depopulated. In the general distress and panic, the superstitious people were led to believe that it was the new sect of Christians that had called down upon the nation the anger of the gods. Aurelius permitted a fearful persecution to be instituted

against them, during which the celebrated Christian fathers and bishops, Justin Martyr and Polycarp, suffered death.

It should be noted that the persecution of the Christians under the Pagan emperors sprung from political rather than religious motives, and that this is why we find the names of the best emperors, as well as those of the worst, in the list of persecutors. It was believed that the welfare of the state was bound up with the careful performance of the rites of the national worship; and hence, while the Roman rulers were usually very tolerant, allowing all forms of worship among their subjects, still they required that men of every faith should at least recognize the Roman gods, and burn incense before their statues. This the Christians steadily refused to do. Their neglect of the service of the temple, it was believed, angered the gods, and endangered the safety of the state, bringing upon it drought, pestilence, and every disaster. This was the main reason of their persecution by the Pagan emperors.

But pestilence and persecution were both forgotten amidst the imperative calls for immediate help that now came from the North. The barbarians were pushing in the Roman outposts, and pouring impetuously over the frontiers. To the panic of the plague was added this new terror. Aurelius placed himself at the head of his legions, and hurried beyond the Alps. For many years, amidst the snows of winter and the heats of summer, he strove to beat back the assailants of the empire.

Once his army was completely surrounded, and his soldiers were dying of thirst, when a violent thunder-storm not only relieved their sufferings, but also struck such terror into the barbarians as to scatter them in flight. The Romans thought that Jupiter Tonans had interfered in their behalf; but the Christians that made up the twelfth legion maintained that God had sent the rain in answer to their prayers. The Christians, it is said by some, received the title of the "Thundering Legion"; while upon the Column of Aurelius at Rome — where it may still be seen — was carved the scene in which Olympian Jove the Thunderer is represented "raining and lightening out of heaven."

The efforts of the devoted Aurelius checked the inroads of the barbarians; but he could not subdue them, so weakened was the empire by the ravages of the pestilence, and so exhausted was the treasury from the heavy and constant drains upon it. At last his weak body gave way beneath the hardships of his numerous campaigns, and he died in his camp at Vindobona (now Vienna), in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 180).

The united voice of the Senate and people pronounced him a god, and divine worship was accorded to his statue. Never was Monarchy so justified of her children as in the lives and works of the Antonines. As Merivale, in dwelling upon their virtues, very justly remarks, "the blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Cæsarism in all after-ages."

ROMAN EMPERORS FROM AUGUSTUS TO MARCUS AURELIUS.

(From 31 B.C. to A.D. 180.)

Augustus reigns	31 B.C. to A.D. 14	Titus	A.D. 79-81
Tiberius	A.D. 14-37	Domitian	81-96
Caligula	37-41	Nerva	96-98
Claudius	41-54	Trajan	98-117
Nero	54-68	Hadrian	117-138
Galba	68-69	Antoninus Pius	138-161
Otho	69	{ Marcus Aurelius	161-180
Vitellius	69		
Vespasian	69-79		
		Verus associated with Aurelius	161-169

The first eleven, in connection with Julius Cæsar, are called the Twelve Cæsars. The last five (excluding Verus) are known as the Five Good Emperors.



- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Colosseum. | 15. Pantheon. |
| 2. Arch of Constantine. | 16. Theatre of Pompey. |
| 3. Arch of Titus. | 17. Portico of Pompey. |
| 4. Via Sacra. | 18. Circus Flaminius. |
| 5. Via Nova. | 19. Theatre of Marcellus. |
| 6. Vicus Tuscul. | 20. Forum Holitorium. |
| 7. Vicus Jugarius. | 21. Forum Boarium. |
| 8. Arch of Septimius Severus. | 22. Mausoleum of Augustus. |
| 9. Clivus Capitolinus. | 23. Mausoleum of Hadrian. |
| 10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. | 24. Baths of Constantine. |
| 11. Arch. | 25. Baths of Diocletian. |
| 12. Column of Trajan. | 26. Baths of Titus. |
| 13. Column of Antonine. | 27. Baths of Caracalla. |
| 14. Baths of Agrippa. | 28. Amphitheatrum Castrense. |

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE (A.D. 180-476): PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY; THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS.

(A.D. 180-476.)

Reign of Commodus (A.D. 180-192).—Under the wise and able administration of "the five good emperors"—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines—the Roman empire reached its culmination in power and prosperity; and now, under the enfeebling influences of vice and corruption within, and the heavy blows of the barbarians without, it begins to decline rapidly to its fall.



COMMODUS (as Hercules).

Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, and the last of the Antonines, was a most unworthy successor of his illustrious father. For three years, however, surrounded by the able generals and wise counselors that the prudent administration of the preceding emperors had drawn to the head of affairs, Commodus ruled with fairness and lenity, when

an unsuccessful conspiracy against his life seemed suddenly to kindle all the slumbering passions of a Nero. He secured the favor of the rabble with the shows of the amphitheatre and purchased the support of the prætorians with bribes and flat-

teries. Thus he was enabled for ten years to retain the throne, while perpetrating all manner of cruelties, and staining the imperial purple with the most detestable debaucheries and crimes.

Commodus had a passion for gladiatorial combats, and attired in a lion's skin, and armed with the club of Hercules, he valiantly set upon and slew antagonists arrayed to represent mythological monsters, and armed with great sponges for rocks. The Senate, so obsequiously servile had that body become, conferred upon him the title of the Roman Hercules, and also voted him the additional surnames of Pius and Felix, and even proposed to change the name of Rome and call it Colonia Commodiana.

The empire was finally relieved of the insane tyrant by some members of the royal household, who anticipated his designs against themselves by putting him to death.

"The Barrack Emperors." —

For nearly a century after the death of Commodus (from A.D. 192 to 284), the emperors were elected by the army, and hence the rulers for this period have been called "the Barrack Emperors." The character of the period is revealed by the fact that of the twenty-five emperors who mounted the throne during this time, all except four came to their deaths by violence. "Civil war, pestilence, bankruptcy, were all brooding over the empire. The soldiers had forgotten how to fight, the rulers how to govern." On every side the barbarians were breaking into the empire to rob, to murder, and to burn.



PLATE III.

The Public Sale of the Empire (A.D. 193).—The beginning of these troublous times was marked by a shameful proceeding on the part of the prætorians. Upon the death of Commodus, Pertinax, a distinguished senator, was placed on the throne; but his efforts to enforce discipline among the prætorians aroused their anger, and he was slain by them after a short reign of only three months. These soldiers then gave out notice that they would sell the empire to the highest bidder. It was accordingly set up for sale at the prætorian camp, and struck off to Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who gave \$1000 to each of the 12,000 soldiers at this time composing the guard. So the price of the empire was about \$12,000,000.

But these turbulent and insolent soldiers at the capital of the empire were not to have things entirely their own way. As soon as the news of the disgraceful transaction reached the legions on the frontiers, they rose as a single man in indignant revolt. Each of the three armies that held the Euphrates, the Rhine, and the Danube, proclaimed its favorite commander emperor. The leader of the Danubian troops was Septimius Severus, a man of great energy and force of character. He knew that there were other competitors for the throne, and that the prize would be his who first seized it. Instantly he set his veterans in motion and was soon at Rome. The prætorians were no match for the trained legionaries of the frontiers, and did not even attempt to defend their emperor, who was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of sixty-five days.

Reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211).—One of the first acts of Severus was to organize a new body-guard of 50,000 legionaries, to take the place of the unworthy prætorians, whom, as a punishment for the insult they had offered to the Roman state, he disbanded, and banished from the capital, and forbade to approach within a hundred miles of its walls. He next crushed his two rival competitors, and was then undisputed master of the empire. He put to death forty senators for having favored his late rivals, and completely destroyed the power of that body.

Committing to the prefect of the new prætorian guard the management of affairs at the capital, Severus passed the greater part of his long and prosperous reign upon the frontiers. At one time he was chastising the Parthians beyond the Euphrates, and at another, pushing back the Caledonian tribes from the Hadrian wall in the opposite corner of his dominions. Finally, in Britain, in his camp at York, death overtook him.

Reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217). — Severus conferred the empire upon his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Caracalla murdered his brother, and then ordered Papinian, the celebrated jurist, to make a public argument in vindication of the fratricide. When that great lawyer refused, saying that "it was easier to commit such a crime than to justify it," he put him to death. Thousands fell victims to his senseless rage. Driven by remorse and fear, he fled from the capital, and wandered about the most distant provinces. At Alexandria, on account of some



CARACALLA.

uncomplimentary remarks by the citizens upon his appearance, he ordered a general massacre. Finally, after a reign of six years, the monster was slain in a remote corner of Syria.

Caracalla's sole political act of real importance was the bestowal of citizenship upon all the free inhabitants of the empire; and this he did, not to give them a just privilege, but that he might collect from them certain special taxes which only Roman citizens

had to pay. Before the reign of Caracalla it was only particular classes of subjects, or the inhabitants of some particular city or province, that, as a mark of special favor, had, from time to time, been admitted to the rights of citizenship (see pp. 291-293). By this wholesale act of Caracalla, the entire population of the empire was made Roman, at least in name and nominal privilege. "The city had become the world, or, viewed from the other side, the world had become the city" (Merivale).

Reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218-222). — Upon the death of Caracalla, the purple was assumed by Macrinus, the officer who had instigated the murder of the emperor. He remained in the East, where the severity of his discipline caused the soldiers who had raised him to power to revolt. The garrison at Emesa set up as emperor Elagabalus, a beautiful boy who in that place officiated as high priest in the temple of the Syrian sun-god, and whom the soldiers were led to believe was the son of the murdered Caracalla. The legions that adhered to Macrinus were quickly crushed, and he himself was slain.

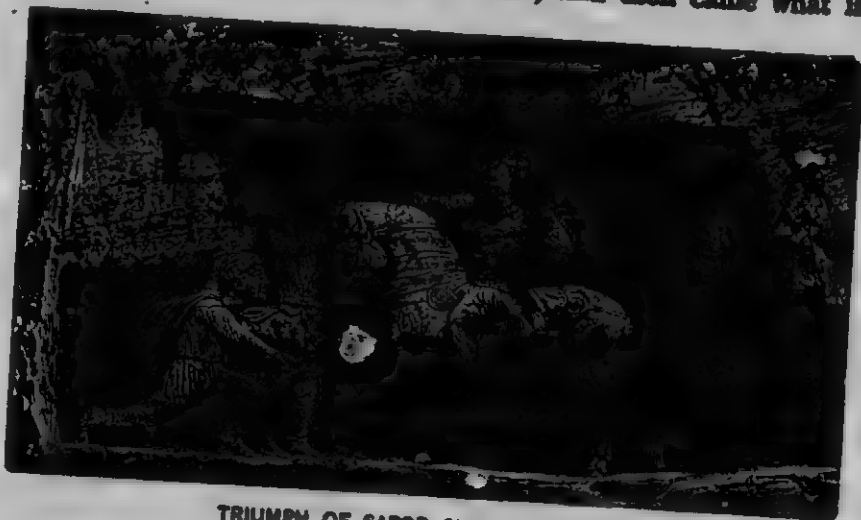
So un-Roman had the Romans become that this Oriental priest, thus thrust forward by the Syrian legions, was at once recognized at Rome by both Senate and people as their emperor. He carried to Italy all his Eastern notions and manners, and there entered upon a short reign of four years, characterized by all those extravagances and cruel follies that are so apt to mark the rule of an Asiatic despot. His palace was the scene of the most profligate dissipation. He even created a senate of women whose duty it was to attend to matters of dress, calls, amusements, and etiquette.

The prætorians, at length tiring of their priest-emperor, put him to death, threw his body into the Tiber, and set up in his place Alexander Severus, a kinsman of the murdered prince.

Reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235). — Severus restored the virtues of the Age of the Antonines. His administration was pure and energetic; but he strove in vain to resist the corrupt and downward tendencies of the times. He was assassinated,

after a reign of fourteen years, by his seditious soldiers, who were angered by his efforts to reduce them to discipline. They invested with the imperial purple an obscure officer named Maximin, a Thracian peasant, whose sole recommendation for this dignity was his gigantic stature and his great strength of limbs. Rome had now sunk to the lowest possible degradation. We may pass rapidly over the next fifty years of the empire.

The Thirty Tyrants (A.D. 251-268). — Maximin was followed swiftly by Gordian, Philip, and Decius, and then came what is



TRIUMPH OF SAPOR OVER VALERIAN.

called the "Age of the Thirty Tyrants." The imperial sceptre being held by weak emperors, there sprung up, in every part of the empire, competitors for the throne — several rivals frequently appearing in the field at the same time. The barbarians pressed upon all the frontiers, and thrust themselves into all the provinces. The empire seemed on the point of falling to pieces.¹ But a

¹ It was during this period that the Emperor Valerian (A.D. 253-260), in a battle with the Persians before Edessa, in Mesopotamia, was defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor, the Persian king. A large rock tablet (see cut above), still to be seen near the Persian town of Shiraz, is believed to commemorate the triumph of Sapor over the unfortunate emperor.

fortunate succession of five good emperors — Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus (A.D. 268–284) restored for a time the ancient boundaries and again forced together into some sort of union the fragments of the shattered state.

The Fall of Palmyra (A.D. 273). — The most noted of the usurpers of authority in the provinces during the period of anarchy of which we have spoken was Odenatus, Prince of Palmyra, a city occupying an oasis in the midst of the Syrian Desert, midway between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. In gratitude for the aid he had rendered the Romans against the Parthians, the Senate had bestowed upon him titles and honors. When the empire began to show signs of weakness and approaching dissolution, Odenatus conceived the ambitious project of erecting upon its ruins in the East a great Palmyrian kingdom. Upon his death, his wife, Zenobia, succeeded to his authority and to his ambitions. This famous princess claimed descent from Cleopatra, and it is certain that in the charms of personal beauty she was the rival of the Egyptian queen. Boldly assuming the title of "Queen of the East," she bade defiance to the emperors of Rome. Aurelian marched against her, and, defeating her armies in the open field, drove them within the walls of Palmyra. After a long siege the city was taken, and, in punishment for a second uprising, given to the flames. The adviser of the queen, the celebrated rhetorician Longinus, was put to death; but Zenobia was spared, and carried a captive to Rome. After having been led in golden chains in the triumphal procession of Aurelian, the queen was given a beautiful villa in the vicinity of Tibur, where, surrounded by her children, she passed the remainder of her checkered life.¹

The ruins of Palmyra are among the most interesting remains of Roman or Grecian civilization in the East. For a long time the site even of the city was lost to the civilized world. The Bedouins, however, knew the spot, and told strange stories of a ruined city with splendid temples and long colonnades far away

¹ Read Ware's *Zenobia and Aurelian*.

in the Syrian Desert. Their accounts awakened an interest in the wonderful city, and towards the close of the seventeenth century some explorers reached the spot. The sketches they brought back of the ruins of the long-lost city produced almost as much astonishment as did the discoveries afterwards of Botta and Layard at Nineveh. Hadrian, the Antonines, and other Roman emperors aided the ambitious Palmyrians in the architectural adornment of their capital. The principal features of the ruins are the remains of the great Temple of the Sun, and of the colonnade, which was almost a mile in length. Many of the marble columns that flanked this magnificent avenue are still erect, stretching in a long line over the desert.

Reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284-305). — The reign of Diocletian marks an important era in Roman history. Up to this time the imperial government had been more or less carefully concealed under the forms and names of the old republic. The government now became an unveiled and absolute monarchy. Diocletian's reforms, though radical, were salutary, and infused such fresh vitality into the frame of the dying state as to give it a new lease of life for another term of nearly two hundred years.

He determined to divide the numerous and increasing cares of the distracted empire, so that it might be ruled from two centres — one in the East and the other in the West.

In pursuance of this plan, he chose as a colleague a companion soldier, Maximian, upon whom he conferred the title of Augustus. After a few years, finding the cares of the co-sovereignty still too heavy, each sovereign associated with himself an assistant, who took the title of Cæsar, and was considered the son and heir of the



DIOCLETIAN.

emperor. There were thus two Augusti and two Cæsars. Milan, in Italy, became the capital and residence of Maximian ; while Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, became the seat of the court of Diocletian. The Augusti took charge of the countries near their respective capitals, while the younger and more active Cæsars were assigned the government of the more distant and turbulent provinces. The vigorous administration of the government in every quarter of the empire was thus secured. The authority of each of the rulers was supreme within the territory allotted him ; but all acknowledged Diocletian as "the father and head of the state."

The most serious drawback to the system of government thus instituted was the heavy expense incident to the maintenance of four courts with their trains of officers and dependents. The taxes became unendurable, husbandry ceased, and large masses of the population were reduced almost to starvation.

While the changes made in the government have rendered the name of Diocletian noted in the political history of the Roman state, the cruel persecutions which he ordered against the Christians have made his name in an equal degree prominent in ecclesiastical annals ; for it was during this reign that the tenth — the last and severest — of the persecutions of the Church took place. By an imperial decree the churches of the Christians were ordered to be torn down, and they themselves were outlawed. For ten years the fugitives were hunted in forest and cave. The victims were burned, were cast to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, were put to death by every torture and in every mode that ingenious cruelty could devise. But nothing could shake the constancy of their faith. They courted the death that secured them, as they firmly believed, immediate entrance upon an existence of unending happiness. The exhibition of devotion and constancy shown by the martyrs won multitudes to the persecuted faith.

It was during this and the various other persecutions that vexed the Church in the second and third centuries that the Christians sought refuge in the Catacombs, those vast subterranean galleries and chambers under the city of Rome. Here the Christians hope-

fully buried their dead, and on the walls of the chambers sketched rude symbols of their love and faith. It was in the darkness of these subterranean abodes that Christian art had its beginnings.

After a prosperous reign of twenty years, becoming weary of the cares of state, Diocletian abdicated the throne, and forced or induced his colleague Maximian also to lay down his authority on the same day. Galerius and Constantius were, by this act, advanced to the purple and made Augusti; and two new associates were appointed as Cæsars. Diocletian, having enjoyed the extreme satisfaction of seeing the imperial authority quietly and successfully transmitted by his system, without the dictation of the insolent prætorians or the interference of the turbulent legionaries, now retired to his country-seat at Salona, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and there devoted himself to rural pursuits. It is related that, when Maximian wrote him urging him to endeavor, with him, to regain the power they had laid aside, he replied: "Were you but to come to Salona and see the vegetables which I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no longer talk to me of empire."

Reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337); the Empire becomes Christian. — Galerius and Constantius had reigned together only one year, when the latter died at York, in Britain; and his soldiers, disregarding the rule of succession as determined by the system of Diocletian, proclaimed his son Constantine emperor. Six competitors for the throne arose in different quarters. For eighteen years Constantine fought to gain supremacy. At the end of that time every rival was crushed, and he was the sole ruler of the Roman world.



CHRIST AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD.
(From the Catacombs.)

Constantine was the first Christian emperor. He was converted to the new religion — such is the story — by seeing in the heavens, during one of his campaigns against his rivals, a luminous cross with this inscription: "In this sign you will conquer."¹ He made the cross the royal standard; and the Roman legions now for the first time marched beneath the emblem of Christianity.²

By a decree issued from Milan, A.D. 313, Christianity was made in effect the state religion; but all other forms of worship were tolerated. With the view of harmonizing the different sects that had sprung up among the Christians, and to settle the controversy between the Arians and the Athanasians respecting the nature of Christ, — the former denied his equality with God the Father, — Constantine called the first Œcumenical, or General Council of the Church, at Nicæa, a town of Asia Minor, A.D. 325. Arianism was denounced, and a formula of Christian faith adopted, which is known as the Nicene Creed.

After the recognition of Christianity, the most important act of Constantine was the selection of Byzantium, on the Bosphorus, as the new capital of the empire. One reason which led the emperor to choose this site in preference to Rome was the ungracious conduct towards him of the inhabitants of the latter city, because he had abandoned the worship of the old national deities. But there were political reasons for such a change. Through the Eastern conquests of Rome, the centre of the population, wealth, and culture of the empire had shifted eastward. The West — Gaul, Britain, Spain — was rude and barbarous; the East — Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor — was the abode of ancient civilizations from which Rome was proud to trace her origin. Constantine was not the first to entertain the idea of seeking in the East a

¹ In Latin, *In hoc signo vinces*.

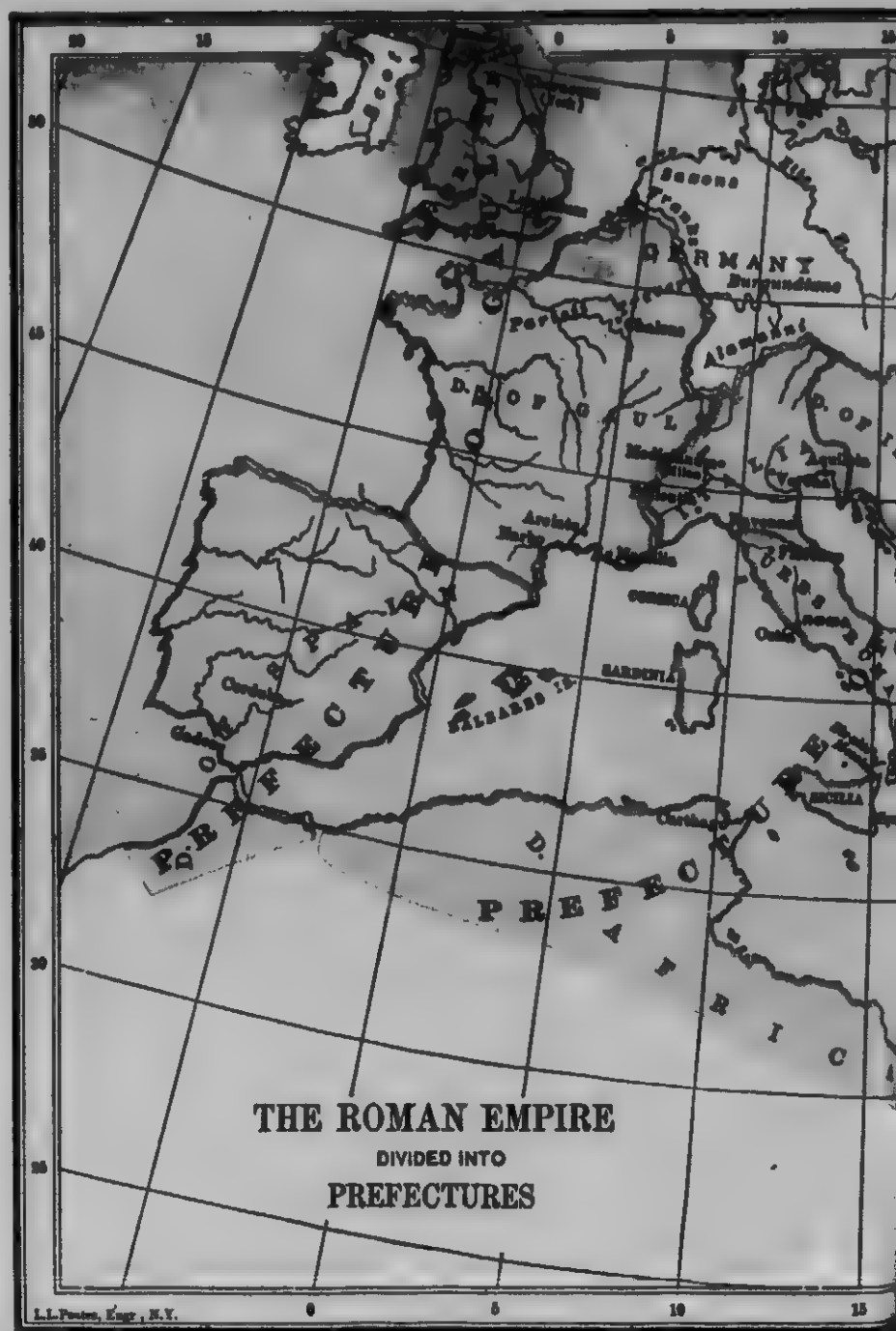
² The new standard was called the *Labarum* (from the Celtic *lavar*, meaning command). It consisted of a banner inscribed with the Greek letters XP, the first being a symbol of the Cross, and both forming a monogram of the word *Christ*. The letters are the initials of the Greek *Christos*.

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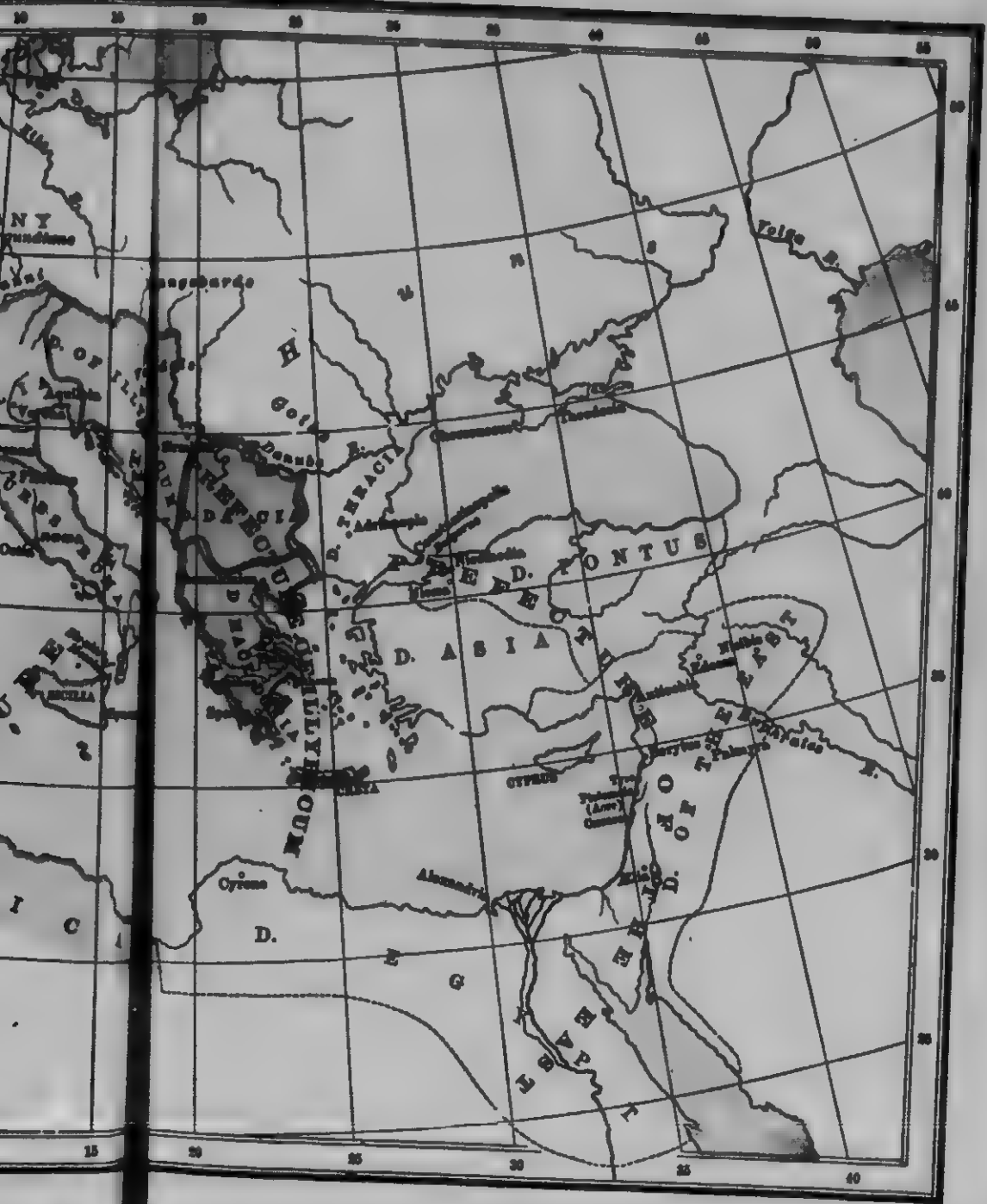
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THE ROMAN EMPIRE
DIVIDED INTO
PREFECTURES

L.L. Paine, Engr., N.Y.



new centre for the Roman world. The Italians were inflamed against the first Caesar by the report that he intended to restore Ilium, the cradle of the Roman race, and make that the capital of the empire.

Constantine organized at Byzantium a new Senate, while that at Rome sank to the obscure position of the council of a provincial municipality. Multitudes eagerly thronged to the new capital, and almost in a night the little colony grew into an imperial city. In honor of the emperor its name was changed to Constantinople, the "City of Constantine." Hereafter the eyes of the world were directed towards the Bosphorus instead of the Tiber.

To aid in the administration of the government, Constantine laid out the empire into four great divisions, called prefectures (see map), which were subdivided into thirteen dioceses, and these again into one hundred and sixteen provinces.

The character of Constantine has been greatly eulogized by Christian writers, while Pagan historians very naturally painted it in dark colors. It is probable that he embraced Christianity, not entirely from conviction, but partly from political motives. As the historian Hodgkin puts it, "He was half convinced of the truth of Christianity, and wholly convinced of the policy of embracing it." If his course was dictated by considerations of policy, events justified his forecast; for it was the enthusiasm of his Christian legions, wrought to an intense fervor by the sight of the new emblem, that gave to Constantine his victory over his last rival on the field of Adrianople.

In any event, Constantine's religion was a strange mixture of the old and the new faith: on his medals the Christian cross is held by the pagan deity Victory. In his domestic relations he was tyrannical and cruel. He put to death his son Crispus for no better reason, it is believed, than that he was jealous of his rising fame; his wife he ordered to be smothered in the bath; he killed his sister, and drove his mother to death with grief and despair. He died in the thirty-first year of his reign, leaving his kingdom to his three sons, Constans, Constantius, and Constantine.

Reign of Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361-363).—The parceling out of the empire by Constantine among his sons led to strife and wars, which, at the end of sixteen years, left Constantius master of the whole. He reigned as sole emperor for about eight years, engaged in ceaseless warfare with German tribes in the West and with the Persians¹ in the East. Constantius was followed by his cousin Julian, who was killed while in pursuit of the troops of Sapor, king of the Persians (A.D. 363).

Julian is called the Apostate because he abandoned Christianity and labored to restore the Pagan faith. In his persecution of the Christians, however, he could not resort to the old means—"the sword, the fire, the lions"; for, under the softening influences of the very faith he sought to extirpate, the Roman world had already learned a gentleness and humanity that rendered impossible the renewal of the Neronian and Diocletian persecutions. Julian's weapons were sophistry and ridicule, in the use of which he was a master. To degrade the Christians, and place them at a disadvantage in controversy, he excluded them from the schools of logic and rhetoric.

Furthermore, to cast discredit upon the predictions of the Scriptures, Julian determined to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, which the Christians contended could not be restored because of the prophecies against it. He actually began excavations, but his workmen were driven in great panic from the spot by terrific explosions and bursts of flame. The Christians regarded the occurrence as miraculous; and Julian himself, it is certain, was so dismayed by it that he desisted from the undertaking.²

¹ The great Parthian empire, which had been such a formidable antagonist of Rome, was, after an existence of five centuries, overthrown by a revolt of the Persians (A.D. 226), and the New Persian or Sassanian monarchy established. This empire lasted till the country was overrun by the Saracens in the seventh century A.D.

² The explosions which so terrified the workmen of Julian are supposed to have been caused by accumulations of gases—similar to those that so frequently occasion accidents in mines—in the subterranean chambers of the Temple foundations.

It was in vain that the apostate emperor labored to uproot the new faith; for the purity of its teachings, the universal and eternal character of its moral precepts, had given it a name to live. Equally in vain were his efforts to restore the worship of the old Grecian and Roman divinities. Polytheism was a transitional form of religious belief which the world had now outgrown: great Pan was dead.

The disabilities under which Julian had placed the Christians were removed by his successor Jovian (A.D. 363-364), and the Christian worship was re-established.

Valentinian and Valens. — Upon the death of Jovian, Valentinian, the commander of the imperial guard, was elected emperor by a council of the generals of the army and the ministers of the court. He appointed his brother Valens as his associate in office, and assigned to him the Eastern provinces, while reserving for himself the Western. He set up his own court at Milan, while his brother established his residence at Constantinople.

The Movements of the Barbarians. — The reigns of Valentinian and Valens were signalized by threatening movements of the barbarian tribes, that now, almost at the same moment, began to press with redoubled energy against all the barriers of the empire. The Alemanni (Germans) crossed the Rhine — sometimes swarming over the river on the winter's ice — and, before pursuit could be made, escaped with their booty into the depths of the German forests. The Saxons, pirates of the northern seas, who issued from the mouth of the Elbe, ravaged the coasts of Gaul and Britain, even pushing their light skiffs far up the rivers and creeks of those countries, and carrying spoils from the inland cities. In Britain, the Picts broke through the Hadrian Wall, and wrested almost the entire island from the hands of the Romans. In Africa, the Moorish and other tribes, issuing from the ravines of the Atlas Mountains and swarming from the deserts of the south, threatened to obliterate the last trace of Roman civilization occupying the narrow belt of fertile territory skirting the sea.

The barbarian tide of invasion seemed thus on the point of

overwhelming the empire in the West; but for twelve years Valentinian defended with signal ability and energy not only his own territories, but aided with arms and counsel his weaker brother Valens in the defence of his. Upon the death of Valentinian, his son Gratian succeeded to his authority (A.D. 375).

The Goths cross the Danube. — The year following the death of Valentinian, an event of the greatest importance occurred in the East. The Visigoths (Western Goths) dwelling north of the Lower Danube, who had often in hostile bands crossed that river to war against the Roman emperors, now appeared as suppliants in vast multitudes upon its banks. They said that a terrible race, whom they were powerless to withstand, had invaded their territories, and spared neither their homes nor their lives. They begged permission of the Romans to cross the river and settle in Thrace, and promised, should this request be granted, ever to remain the grateful and firm allies of the Roman state.

Valens consented to grant their petition on condition that they should surrender their arms, give up their children as hostages, and all be baptized in the Christian faith.¹ Their terror and despair led them to assent to these conditions. So the entire nation, numbering 1,000,000 souls, — counting men, women, and children, — were allowed to cross the river. Several days and nights were consumed in the transport of the vast multitudes. The writers of the times liken the passage to that of the Hellespont by the hosts of Xerxes.

The enemy that had so terrified the Goths were the Huns, a monstrous race of fierce nomadic horsemen, that two centuries and more before the Christian era were roving the deserts north of the Great Wall of China.² Migrating from that region, they moved slowly to the West, across the great plains of Central Asia, and,

¹ It is somewhat doubtful whether this last condition was really a part of the agreement.

² A great rampart extending for about fifteen hundred miles along the northern frontier of China. It was built by the Chinese towards the end of the third century B.C. as a barrier against the forays of the Huns.

after wandering several centuries, appeared in Europe. They belonged to a different race (the Turanian) from all the other European tribes with which we have been so far concerned. Their features were hideous, their noses being flattened, and their cheeks gashed, to render their appearance more frightful as well as to prevent the growth of a beard. Even the barbarous Goths called them "barbarians."

Scarcely had the fugitive Visigoths been received within the limits of the empire before a large company of their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), also driven from their homes by the same terrible Huns, crowded to the banks of the Danube, and pleaded that they might be allowed, as their countrymen had been, to place the river between themselves and their dreaded enemies. But Valens, becoming alarmed at the presence of so many barbarians within his dominions, refused their request; whereupon they, dreading the fierce and implacable foe behind more than the wrath of the Roman emperor in front, crossed the river with arms in their hands.

It now came to light that the cupidity of the Roman officials had prevented the carrying out of the stipulations of the agreement between the emperor and the Visigoths respecting the relinquishment of their arms. The barbarians had bribed those intrusted with the duty of transporting them across the river, and purchased the privilege of retaining their weapons. The persons, too, detailed to provide the multitude with food till they could be assigned lands, traded on the hunger of their wards, and doled out the vilest provisions at the most extortionate prices. (We seem here to be listening to a recital of the unscrupulous conduct of Indian agents of the United States frontiers.)

As was natural, the injured nation rose in indignant revolt. Joining their kinsmen that were just now forcing the passage of the Danube, they commenced, under the lead of the great Fritigern, to overrun and ravage the Danubian provinces. Valens despatched swift messengers to Gratian in the West, asking for assistance against the foe he had so unfortunately admitted within

the limits of the empire. Meanwhile, he rallied all his forces, and, without awaiting the arrival of the Western legions, risked a battle with the barbarians near Adrianople. The Roman army was almost annihilated. Valens himself, being wounded, sought refuge in the cabin of a peasant; but the building was fired by the savages, and the emperor was burned alive (A.D. 378). The Goths now rapidly overran Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, ravaging the country to the very walls of Constantinople.

Theodosius the Great (A.D. 379-395). — Gratian was hurrying to the help of his colleague Valens, when news of his defeat and death at the hands of the barbarians was brought to him, and he at once appointed as his associate Theodosius, known afterwards as the Great, and intrusted him with the government of the Eastern provinces. Theodosius, by wise and vigorous measures, quickly reduced the Goths to submission. Vast multitudes of the Visigoths were settled upon the waste lands of Thrace, while the Ostrogoths were scattered in various colonies in different regions of Asia Minor. The Goths became allies of the Emperor of the East, and more than 40,000 of these warlike barbarians, who were destined to be the subverters of the empire, were enlisted in the imperial legions.

While Theodosius was thus composing the East, the West, through the jealous rivalries of different competitors for the control of the government, had fallen into great disorder. Theodosius twice interposed to right affairs, and then took the government into his own hands. For four months he ruled as sole monarch of the empire.

Final Division of the Empire (A.D. 395). — The Roman world was now united for the last time under a single master. Just before his death, Theodosius divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, assigning the former, who was only eighteen years of age, the government of the East, and giving the latter, a mere child of eleven, the sovereignty of the West. This was the final partition of the Roman empire — the issue of that growing tendency, which we have observed in its immoderately

extended dominions, to break apart. The separate histories of the East and the West now begin.

The Eastern Empire. — The story of the fortunes of the Empire in the East need not detain us long at this point of our history. This monarchy lasted over a thousand years — from the accession to power of Arcadius, A.D. 395, to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453. It will thus be seen that the greater part of its history belongs to the mediæval period. Up to the time of the overthrow of the Empire in the West, the sovereigns of the East were engaged almost incessantly in suppressing uprisings of their Gothic allies or mercenaries, or in repelling invasions of the Huns and the Vandals. Frequently during this period, in order to save their own territories, the Eastern emperors, by dishonorable inducements, persuaded the barbarians to direct their ravaging expeditions against the provinces of the West.

LAST DAYS OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

First Invasion of Italy by Alaric. — Only a few years had elapsed after the death of the great Theodosius, before the barbarians were trooping in vast hordes through all the regions of the West. First, from Thrace and Moesia came the Visigoths, led by the great Alaric. They poured through the Pass of Thermopylæ, and devastated almost the entire peninsula of Greece; but, being driven from that country by Stilicho, the renowned Vandal general¹ of Honorius, they crossed the Julian Alps, and spread terror throughout all Italy. Stilicho followed the barbarians cautiously, and, attacking them at a favorable moment, inflicted a terrible and double defeat upon them at Pollentia and Verona (A.D. 402-403). The captured camp was found filled with the spoils of Thebes, Corinth, and Sparta. Gathering the remnants of his shattered

¹ Hodgkin makes the following suggestive comparison: "Stilicho [and others like him] were the prototypes of the German and English officers who in our own day have reorganized the armies or commanded the fleets of the Sultan, and led the expeditions of the Khedive."

army, Alaric forced his way with difficulty through the defiles of the Alps, and escaped.

Last Triumph at Rome (A.D. 404).—A terrible danger had been averted. All Italy burst forth in expressions of gratitude and joy. The days of the Cimbri and Teutones were recalled, and the name of Stilicho was pronounced with that of Marius. A magnificent triumph at Rome celebrated the victory and the deliverance. The youthful Honorius and his faithful general Stilicho rode side by side in the imperial chariot. It was the last triumph that Rome ever saw. Three hundred times—such is asserted to be the number—the Imperial City had witnessed the triumphal procession of her victorious generals, celebrating conquests in all quarters of the world.

Last Gladiatorial Combat of the Amphitheatre.—The same year that marks the last military triumph at Rome also signalizes the last gladiatorial combat in the Roman amphitheatre. It is to Christianity that the credit of the suppression of the inhuman exhibitions of the amphitheatre is entirely, or almost entirely, due. The Pagan philosophers usually regarded them with indifference, often with favor. Thus Pliny commends a friend for giving a gladiatorial entertainment at the funeral of his wife. And when the Pagan moralists did condemn the spectacles, it was rather for other reasons than that they regarded them as inhuman and absolutely contrary to the rules of ethics. They were defended on the ground that they fostered a martial spirit among the people and inured the soldier to the sights of the battle-field. Hence gladiatorial games were actually exhibited to the legions before they set out on their campaigns. Indeed, all classes appear to have viewed the matter in much the same light, and with exactly the same absence of moral disapprobation, that we ourselves regard the slaughter of animals for food.

But the Christian fathers denounced the combats as absolutely immoral, and labored in every possible way to create a public opinion against them. The members of their own body who attended the spectacles were excommunicated. At length, in

A.D. 325, the first imperial edict against them was issued by Constantine. This decree appears to have been very little regarded; nevertheless, from this time forward the exhibitions were under something of a ban, until their final abolition was brought about by an incident of the games that closed the triumph of Honorius. In the midst of the exhibition a Christian monk, named Telemachus, descending into the arena, rushed between the combatants, but was instantly killed by a shower of missiles thrown by the people, who were angered by this interruption of their sports. But the people soon repented of their act; and Honorius himself, who was present, was moved by the scene. Christianity had awakened the conscience and touched the heart of Rome. The martyrdom of the monk led to an imperial edict "which abolished forever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre."

Invasion of Italy by Various German Tribes. — While Italy was celebrating her triumph over the Goths, another and more formidable invasion was preparing in the north. The tribes beyond the Rhine — the Vandals, the Suevi, the Burgundians, and other peoples — driven onward by some unknown cause, poured in impetuous streams from the forests and morasses of Germany, and bursting the barriers of the Alps, overspread the devoted plains of Italy. The alarm caused by them among the Italians was even greater than that inspired by the Gothic invasion; for Alaric was a Christian, while Radagaisus, the leader of the new hordes, was a superstitious savage, who paid worship to gods that required the bloody sacrifice of captive enemies.

By such efforts as Rome put forth in the younger and more vigorous days of the republic, when Hannibal was at her gates, an army was now equipped and placed under the command of Stilicho. Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced as far as Florence, and were now besieging that place. Stilicho here surrounded the vast host — variously estimated from 200,000 to 400,000 men — and starved them into a surrender. Their chief, Radagaisus, was put

to death, and great numbers of the barbarians that the sword and famine had spared were sold as slaves (A.D. 406).

The Ransom of Rome (A.D. 409).—Shortly after the victory of Stilicho over the German barbarians, he came under the suspicion of the weak and jealous Honorius, and was executed. Thus fell the great general whose sword and counsel had twice saved Rome from the barbarians, and who might again have averted similar dangers that were now at hand. Listening to the rash counsels of his unworthy advisers, Honorius provoked to revolt the 30,000 Gothic mercenaries in the Roman legions by a massacre of their wives and children, who were held as hostages in the different cities of Italy. The Goths beyond the Alps joined with their kinsmen to avenge the perfidious act. Alaric again crossed the mountains, and pillaging the cities in his way, led his hosts to the very gates of Rome. Not since the time of the dread Hannibal (see p. 271)—more than six hundred years before—had Rome been insulted by the presence of a foreign foe beneath her walls.

The barbarians by their vast number were enabled to completely surround the city, and thus cut it off from its supplies of food. Famine soon forced the Romans to sue for terms of surrender. The ambassadors of the Senate, when they came before Alaric, began, in lofty and unbecoming language, to warn him not to render the Romans desperate by hard or dishonorable terms: their fury when driven to despair, they represented, was terrible, and their number enormous. "The thicker the grass, the easier to mow it," was Alaric's derisive reply. The barbarian chieftain at length named the ransom that he would accept and spare the city: "All the gold and silver in the city, whether it were the property of individuals or of the state; all the rich and precious movables; and all the slaves that could prove their title to the name of barbarian." The amazed commissioners, in deprecating tones, asked, "If such, O king, are your demands, what do you intend to leave us?" "Your lives," responded the conqueror.

The ransom was afterwards considerably modified and reduced.

It was fixed at "5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver, 4000 silken robes, 3000 pieces of scarlet cloth, and 3000 pounds of pepper." The last-named article was much used in Roman cookery, and was very expensive, being imported from India. Merivale, in contrasting the condition of Rome at this time with her ancient wealth and grandeur, estimates that the gilding of the roof of the Capitoline temple far exceeded the entire ransom, and that it was four hundred times less than that (five milliards of francs) demanded of France by the Prussians in 1871. Small as it comparatively was, the Romans were able to raise it only by the most extraordinary measures. The images of the gods were first stripped of their ornaments of gold and precious stones, and finally the statues themselves were melted down.

Sack of Rome by Alaric (A.D. 410).—Upon retiring from Rome, Alaric established his camp in Etruria. Here he was joined by great numbers of fugitive slaves, and by fresh accessions of barbarians from beyond the Alps. The Gallic king now demanded for his followers lands of Honorius, who, with his court, was safe behind the marshes of Ravenna; but the emperor treated all the proposals of the barbarian with foolish insolence. Rome paid the penalty. Alaric turned upon the devoted city, determined upon its sack and plunder. The barbarians broke into the capital by night, "and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Precisely eight hundred years had passed since its sack by the Gauls. During that time the Imperial City had carried its victorious standards over three continents, and had gathered within the temples of its gods and the palaces of its nobles the plunder of the world. Now it was given over for a spoil to the fierce tribes from beyond the Danube.

Alaric commanded his soldiers to respect the lives of the people, and to leave untouched the treasures of the Christian temples; but the wealth of the citizens he encouraged them to make their own. For six days and nights the rough barbarians trooped through the streets of the city on their mission of pillage. Their

wagons were heaped with the costly furniture, the rich plate, and the silken garments stripped from the palaces of the wealthy patricians and the temples of the gods. Amidst the license of the sack, the barbarian instincts of the robbers broke loose from all restraint, and the city was everywhere wet with blood, while the nights were lighted with burning buildings.

Effects of the Disaster upon Paganism. — The overwhelming disaster that had befallen the Imperial City produced a profound impression upon both Pagans and Christians throughout the Roman world. The former asserted that these unutterable calamities had fallen upon the Roman state because of the abandonment by the people of the worship of the gods of their forefathers, under whose protection and favor Rome had become the mistress of the world. The Christians, on the other hand, saw in the fall of the Eternal City the fulfilment of the prophecies against the Babylon of the Apocalypse. The latter interpretation of the appalling calamity gained credit amidst the panic and despair of the times. The temples of the once popular deities were deserted by their worshippers, who had lost faith in gods that could neither save themselves nor protect their shrines from spoliation. "Henceforth," says Merivale, "the power of paganism was entirely broken, and the indications which occasionally meet us of its continued existence are rare and trifling. Christianity stepped into its deserted inheritance. The Christians occupied the temples, transforming them into churches."

The Death of Alaric. — After withdrawing his warriors from Rome, Alaric led them southward. As they moved slowly on, they piled still higher the wagons of their long trains with the rich spoils of the cities and villas of Campania and other districts of Southern Italy. In the villas of the Roman nobles the rough barbarians spread rare banquets from the stores of their well-filled cellars, and drank from jewelled cups the famed Falernian wine.

Alaric led his soldiers to the extreme southern point of Italy, intending to cross the Straits of Messina into Sicily, and, after subduing that island, to carry his conquests into the provinces of

Africa. His designs were frustrated by his death, which occurred A.D. 410. With religious care his followers secured the body of their hero against molestation by his enemies. The little river Busentinus, in Northern Bruttium, was turned from its course with great labor, and in the bed of the stream was constructed a tomb, in which was placed the body of the king, with his jewels and trophies. The river was then restored to its old channel, and, that the exact spot might never be known, the prisoners who had been forced to do the work were all put to death.

The Barbarians seize the Western Provinces. — We must now turn our eyes from Rome and Italy to observe the movement of events in the provinces. In his efforts to defend Italy, Stilicho had withdrawn the last legion from Britain, and had drained the camps and fortresses of Gaul. The Hadrian Wall was left unmanned; the passages of the Rhine were left unguarded; and the agitated multitudes of barbarians beyond these defences were free to pour their innumerable hosts into all the fair provinces of the empire. Hordes of Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Burgundians overspread all the plains and valleys of Gaul. The Vandals pushed on into the South of Spain, and there occupied a large tract of country, which, in its present name of Andalusia, preserves the memory of its barbarian settlers. From these regions they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, overran the Roman provinces of Northern Africa, captured Carthage (A.D. 439), and made that city the seat of the dread empire of the Vandals. The Goths, with Italy pillaged, recrossed the Alps, and establishing their camps in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain, set up in those regions what is known as the Kingdom of the Visigoths.

In Britain, upon the withdrawal of the Roman legions, the Picts breaking over the wall of Hadrian, descended upon and pillaged the cities of the South. The half-Romanized and effeminate provincials — no match for their hardy kinsmen who had never bowed their necks to the yoke of Rome — were driven to despair by the ravages of their relentless enemies, and, in their helplessness, invited to their aid the Angles and Saxons from the shores of the

North Sea. These people came in their rude boats, drove back the invaders, and, being pleased with the soil and climate of the island, took possession of the country for themselves, and became the ancestors of the English people.

Invasion of the Huns: Battle of Châlons (A.D. 451). — The barbarians that were thus overrunning and parcelling out the inheritance of the dying empire were now, in turn, pressed upon and terrified by a foe more hideous and dreadful in their eyes than were they in the sight of the peoples among whom they had thrust themselves. These were the non-Aryan Huns, of whom we have already caught a glimpse as they drove the panic-stricken Goths across the Danube. At this time their leader was Attila, whom the affrighted inhabitants of Europe called the "Scourge of God." It was declared that the grass never grew again where once the hoof of Attila's horse had trod.

Attila defeated the armies of the Eastern emperor, and exacted tribute from the court of Constantinople. Finally he turned westward, and, at the head of a host numbering, it is asserted, 700,000 warriors, crossed the Rhine into Gaul, purposing first to ravage that province, and then to traverse Italy with fire and sword, in order to destroy the last vestige of the Roman power.

The Romans and their Gothic conquerors laid aside their animosities, and made common cause against a common enemy. The Visigoths were rallied by their king, Theodoric; the Italians, the Franks, the Burgundians, flocked to the standard of the Roman general Aëtius. Attila drew up his mighty hosts upon the plain of Châlons, in the north of Gaul, and there awaited the onset of the Romans and their allies. The conflict was long and terrible. Theodoric was slain; but at last fortune turned against the barbarians. The loss of the Huns is variously estimated at from 100,000 to 300,000 warriors. Attila succeeded in escaping from the field, and retreated with his shattered hosts across the Rhine (A.D. 451).

This great victory is placed among the significant events of history; for it decided that the Christian Germanic races, and

not the pagan Scythic Huns, should inherit the dominions of the expiring Roman Empire, and control the destinies of Europe.

The Death of Attila.—The year after his defeat at Châlons, Attila again crossed the Alps, and burned or plundered all the important cities of Northern Italy. The Veneti fled for safety to the morasses at the head of the Adriatic (A.D. 452). Upon the islets where they built their rude dwellings, there grew up in time the city of Venice, the "eldest daughter of the Roman Empire," the "Carthage of the Middle Ages."

The conqueror threatened Rome; but Leo the Great, bishop of the capital, went with an embassy to the camp of Attila, and pleaded for the city. He recalled to the mind of Attila the fact that death had overtaken the impious Alaric soon after he had given the Imperial City to be sacked, and warned him not to call down upon himself the like judgment of heaven. To these admonitions of the Christian bishop was added the persuasion of a golden bribe from the Emperor Valentinian; and Attila was induced to spare Southern Italy, and to lead his warriors back beyond the Alps. Shortly after he had crossed the Danube, he died suddenly in his camp, and like Alaric was buried secretly,—and "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." His followers gradually withdrew from Europe into the wilds of their native Scythia, or were absorbed by the peoples they had conquered.¹

¹ There is much uncertainty respecting the part which the warriors of Attila may have taken in the formation of the later Hungarian state in Europe. That appears to have owed its origin to another invading band of the same people, that entered Europe several centuries later. "It is at least certain," says Creasy, "that the Magyars of Arpad, who are the immediate ancestors of the bulk of the modern Hungarians, and who conquered the country which bears the name of Hungary in A.D. 889, were of the same stock of mankind as the Huns of Attila, if they did not belong to the same subdivision of that stock. Nor is there any improbability in the tradition that after Attila's death many of his warriors remained in Hungary, and that their descendants afterwards joined the Huns of Arpad in their career of conquest. It is certain that Attila made Hungary the seat of his empire."—*Decisive Battles*, p. 157.

Sack of Rome by the Vandals (A.D. 455).—Rome had been saved a visitation from the spoiler of the North, but a new destruction was about to burst upon it by way of the sea from the South. Africa sent out another enemy whose greed for plunder proved more fatal to Rome than the eternal hate of Hannibal. The kings of the Vandal Empire in Northern Africa had acquired as perfect a supremacy in the Western Mediterranean as Carthage ever enjoyed in the days of her commercial pride. Vandal corsairs swept the seas and harassed the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and even plundered the maritime towns of the Eastern provinces. In the year 455 a Vandal fleet, led by the dread Geiseric (Genseric), sailed up the Tiber.

These barbarians had been exhorted by the Roman empress Eudoxia to come and avenge the murder of her husband Valentinian and her forced alliance with a senator named Maximus, who, being invested with the purple, had forced the widowed queen to accept the hand stained, as many believed, with the blood of her own husband.

Panic seized the people; for the name Vandal was pronounced with terror throughout the world. Again the great Leo, who had once before saved his flock from the fury of an Attila, went forth to intercede in the name of Christ for the Imperial City. Geiseric granted to the pious bishop the lives of the citizens, but said that the plunder of the capital belonged to his warriors. For fourteen days and nights the city was given over to the ruthless barbarians. The ships of the Vandals, which almost hid with their number the waters of the Tiber, were piled, as had been the wagons of the Goths before them, with the rich and weighty spoils of the capital. Palaces were stripped of their ornaments and furniture, and the walls of the temples denuded of their statues and of the trophies of a hundred Roman victories. From the Capitoline sanctuary were borne off the golden candlestick and other sacred articles that Titus had stolen from the Temple at Jerusalem.

The greed of the barbarians was sated at last, and they were ready to withdraw. The Vandal fleet sailed for Car-

thage,¹ bearing, besides the plunder of the city, more than 30,000 of the inhabitants as slaves. Carthage, through her own barbarian conquerors, was at last avenged upon her hated rival. The mournful presentiment of Scipio had fallen true (see p. 281). The cruel fate of Carthage might have been read again in the pillaged city that the Vandals left behind them.

Fall of the Roman Empire in the West (A.D. 476). — Only the shadow of the Empire in the West now remained. All the provinces — Illyricum, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa — were in the hands of the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Angles and Saxons, and various other intruding tribes. Italy, as well as Rome herself, had become again and again the spoil of the insatiable barbarians. The story of the twenty years following the sack of the capital by Geiseric affords only a repetition of the events we have been narrating. During these years several puppet emperors were set up by the different leaders of the invading tribes. A final seditious movement placed upon the shadow-throne a child of six years, son of Orestes, the leading spirit of the new revolution.

By what has been called a freak of fortune; this boy-sovereign bore the name of Romulus Augustus, thus uniting in the name of the last Roman Emperor of the West the names of the founder of Rome and of the establisher of the empire. Not so much on account of his youth as from contempt excited by the imperial farce he was forced to play, this emperor became known as Augustulus — “the little Augustus.” He reigned only one year, when Odoaker (Odoacer), the leader of the Heruli — a small but formidable German tribe, all of whom claimed royal descent — having demanded one-third of the lands of Italy, to divide among his followers for services rendered the empire, and having been refused,

¹ The fleet was overtaken by a storm and suffered some damage, but the most precious of the relics it bore escaped harm. “The golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later, and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced, from superstitious motives, in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost.” — MERIVALE.

put Orestes to death, and dethroned the child-emperor. His life was spared, and his friends were permitted to take him into retirement in the villa of Lucullus, in Campania.

The Roman Senate now sent an embassy to Constantinople, with the royal vestments and the insignia of the imperial office, to represent to the Emperor Zeno that the West was willing to give up its claims to an emperor of its own, and to request that the German chief, with the title of "Patrician," might rule Italy as his viceroy. This was granted; and Italy now became in effect a province of the Empire in the East (A.D. 476). The Roman Empire in the West had come to an end, after an existence from the founding of Rome of 1229 years.



SARCOPHAGUS OF CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.
(Consul 298 B.C.)

ROMAN EMPERORS.

379

ROMAN EMPERORS FROM COMMODUS TO ROMULUS AUGUSTUS.

(A.D. 180-476.)

	A.D.		A.D.
Commodus	180-192	{ Diocletian	284-305
Pertinax	193	{ Maximian	286-305
Didius Julianus	193	{ Constantius I.	305-306
Septimius Severus	193-211	{ Galerius	305-311
{ Caracalla	211-217	Constantine the Great	306-337
{ Geta	211-212	Reigns as sole ruler	323-337
Macrinus	217-218	Constantine II.	337-340
Elagabalus	218-222	Constans I.	337-350
Alexander Severus	222-235	Constantius II.	337-361
Maximin	235-238	Reigns as sole ruler	350-361
Gordian III.	238-244	Julian the Apostate	361-363
Philip	244-249	Jovian	363-364
Decius	249-251	{ Valentinian I.	364-375
Period of the Thirty Tyrants	251-268	{ Valens (in the East)	364-378
Claudius	268-270	Gratian	375-383
Aurelian	270-275	Maximus	383-388
Tacitus	275-276	Valentinian II.	375-392
Probus	276-282	Eugenius	392-394
Carus	282-283	Theodosius the Great	379-395
{ Carinus	283-284	Reigns as sole emperor	394-395
{ Numerian	283-284		

FINAL PARTITION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(A.D. 395.)

EMPERORS IN THE EAST.

(From A.D. 395 to Fall of Rome.)

	A.D.
Arcadius	395-408
Theodosius II.	408-450
Marician	450-457
Leo I.	457-474
Zeno	474-491

EMPERORS IN THE WEST.

	A.D.
Honorius	395-423
Valentinian III.	425-455
Maximus	455
Avitus	455-456
Count Ricimer creates and deposes emperors	456-472
Romulus Augustus	475-476

CHAPTER X.

ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, LAW, AND SOCIAL LIFE
AMONG THE ROMANS.

ARCHITECTURE.

Introductory. — We purpose in the present section to say something further respecting the great architectural works of the ancient Romans, any extended description of which before this time would have broken the continuity of our narrative. An examination of these as they stood before time and violence laid defacing hands upon them, or as they appear now after the decay and spoliation of many centuries, will tend to render more real, and to impress more deeply upon our minds, the story we have been following (see *Frontispiece*).

Greek Origin of Roman Architecture: the Arch. — The architecture of the Romans was, in the main, an imitation of Greek models. But the Romans were not mere servile imitators. They not only modified the architectural forms they borrowed, but they gave their structures a distinct character by the prominent use of the arch, which the Greek and Oriental builders seldom employed, though they were acquainted with its properties. By means of it the Roman builders vaulted the roofs of the largest buildings, carried stupendous aqueducts across the deepest valleys, and spanned the broadest streams with bridges that have resisted all the assaults of time and flood to the present day.

Sacred Edifices. — The temples of the Romans were in general so like those of the Greeks that we need not here take time and space to enter into a particular description of them.¹ Mention,

¹ The most celebrated of Roman temples was the Capitoline, which crowned the Capitoline Hill at Rome. At the close of the Punic Wars the roof of the central portion of the building was covered with gilded tiles at an almost fabulous expense, — \$20,000,000 according to some authorities. The brazen

however, should be made of their circular vaulted temples, as this was a style of building almost exclusively Italian. The best representative of this style of sacred edifices is the Pantheon¹ at Rome, which has come down to our own times in a state of wonderful preservation. This structure is about 140 feet in diameter. The great concrete dome which vaults the building is one of the boldest pieces of masonry executed by the master-builders of the world. The temple is fronted by a splendid portico, forming a thick grove of columns, through which entrance is given to the shrine. The doors were of bronze, and still remain in place. It was built about 25 B.C. by the consul M. Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, and was consecrated to Jupiter the Avenger. The edifice is now a Christian sanctuary, being known as The Church of All the Saints.

Circuses, Theatres, and Amphitheatres.—The circuses of the Romans were what we should call race-courses. There were several at Rome, the most celebrated being the Circus Maximus, which was first laid out in the time of the Tarquins, and afterwards enlarged as the population of the capital increased, until finally, at the time of Constantine, which emperor made the last extension, it was capable of holding probably two or three hundred thousand spectators.² It was oblong in shape, being about 1800 feet long and 600 feet wide. From the course, or track, the seats rose in tiers the same as in a theatre. From the uppermost row of seats rose high buildings with several stories of balconies like the boxes overhanging the modern stage. The sloping sides of the valley were taken advantage of in the formation of the seats. The only remaining trace of this stupendous structure is the terraced appearance of the low encircling hills.

doors of the temple were also adorned with solid plates of gold. The interior decorations were of marble and silver. The walls were crowded with the trophies of war. We have already learned of the fate of the treasures of the sanctuary at the hands of the barbarian Goths and Vandals (see pp. 371, 376).

¹ From two Greek words, *pan*, all, and *theon*, divine (or *theos*, a god).

² Authorities differ, ranging from 150,000 to 380,000. Pliny says 250,000.

The Romans borrowed the plan of their theatres from the Greeks. The form was that of a semicircle, with rising tiers of



RUINS OF THEATRE AT ASPENDOS.

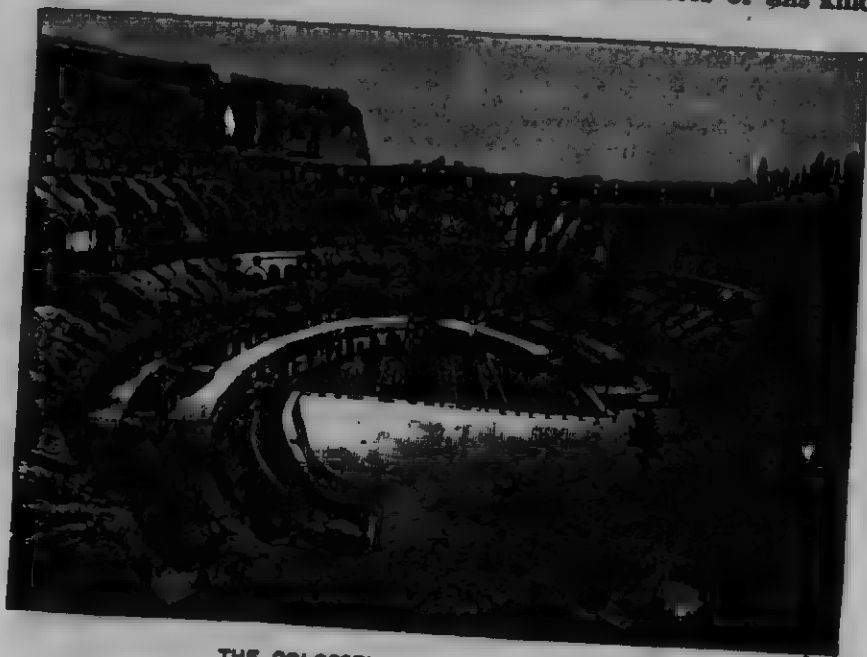
seats. The Greeks, in the construction of their theatres, usually took advantage of some hillside; but the Romans, who seemed to scorn the idea of saving labor, or of asking nature to lend aid in any work, when they set themselves to theatre-building, erected

the entire structure upon level ground, raising a great supporting wall or framework in place of the hill with its favoring slopes. All of the theatres built at Rome previous to the year 55 B.C. were of wood. In that year Pompey the Great returned from his campaigns in the East, where he had seen the Greek theatre at Mitylene, and immediately set to work to erect, in imitation of it, a stone theatre at Rome that should seat 40,000 spectators. This structure and two others, one of which was built by Augustus, were the only theatres at the capital.

The first Roman amphitheatre seems to have been the outgrowth of the rivalry between Pompey and Cæsar. The liberality of the former in the erection of his stone theatre had so won for him the affections of the people that the latter saw he must do something to surpass his rival, or see himself entirely distanced in the race for popular favor. Cæsar was at this time away in Gaul, whence he sent immense sums of money, gained by his successful wars, to his friend Curio, then tribune at Rome, who was enjoined to erect, with the means thus put into his hands, a structure that should cast Pompey's into the shade. Pliny tells us that Curio built two wooden theatres side by side, in which two separate audiences might be entertained at the same time. With things thus arranged, and with the people in good-humor from the farcical representations that had been given, all was ready for the

master-stroke that was to win the applause of the fickle multitude. At a given signal, one of the theatres, which had been constructed so as to admit of such a movement, was swung around and brought face to face with the other, in such a way as to form a vast amphitheatre, where, from a central space called the arena and designed for the exhibitions, the seats rose in receding tiers on every side.

The first stone amphitheatre was erected during the reign of Augustus. But the one that pushed all other edifices of this kind



THE COLOSSEUM. (From a Photograph.)

far into the background, and in some respects surpasses any other monument ever reared by man, was the structure commenced by Flavius Vespasian, and often called, after him, the Flavian Amphitheatre, but better known as the Colosseum (see p. 239). The edifice is 574 feet in its greatest diameter, and was capable of seating 87,000 spectators. The encircling wall rises in four stories to the height of 156 feet. Within, the seats rose from

the arena in retreating steps to the magnificent portico that crowned the upper circle. Beneath the arena and seats were large chambers designed as dens for the wild animals needed in the shows. Sockets in the upper stone-work held pillars to which were fastened the ropes by means of which an immense awning was stretched over the heads of the spectators to keep out the sun and rain. Fountain jets filled the air with perfumed spray; pieces of statuary, placed at advantageous points, relieved the monotony of the endless circle of seats; and bright-colored silken decorations lent a festive appearance to the vast auditorium.

The enormous proportions of the Colosseum have enabled it to resist all the agencies of destruction which have been at work upon it through so many centuries. The crowning colonnade was destroyed by fire; the immense walls were quarried by the builders of Rome for a thousand years, and from them was taken material for the building of a multitude of castles, towers, and palaces, erected in the capital during the Middle Ages; and for seventeen hundred years the tooth of time has been busy upon every part of the gigantic structure. Yet, notwithstanding all these concurring agencies of ruin, the Colosseum still stands grand and impressive as at first, even more impressive because of these marks that it bears of violence and of time. It rises before us as "the embodiment of the power and splendor of the empire."

Many of the most important cities of Italy and of the provinces were provided with amphitheatres, similar in all essential respects to the Colosseum at the capital, only much inferior in size, save the one at Capua, which was nearly as large as the Flavian structure.

Military Roads. — Foremost among the works of utility executed by the Romans, and the most expressive of the spirit of the people, were their military roads. Radiating from the capital, they grew with the growing empire, until all the countries about the Mediterranean and beyond the Alps were united to Rome and to one another by a perfect network of highways of such admirable

construction that even now, in their ruined state, they excite the wonder of modern engineers.

The most noted of all the Roman roads was the Via Appia, called by the ancients themselves the "Queen of Roads," which ran from Rome to Capua. It was built by Appius Claudius (312 B.C.), for whom it was named. Afterwards it was continued in a southeasterly direction, and carried across the peninsula to Brundisium, an important seaport on the coast of Calabria, whence expeditions were embarked for operations in the East.



THE APPIAN WAY. (From a Photograph.)

The Flaminian Way ran from the capital to Ariminum on the Adriatic, and thence was extended, under another name, northward into the valley of the Po. Several other roads, reaching out from Rome in different directions, completed the communication of the capital with the various cities and states of the peninsula. As the limits of the Roman authority extended, new roads were built in the conquered provinces — in Sicily, in Northern Africa,

in Spain, over the Alps, along the Rhine and the Danube, throughout Gaul, Britain, Greece, and all the East.

These military roads, with characteristic Roman energy and disregard of obstacles, were carried forward, as nearly as possible, in straight lines and on a level, mountains being pierced with tunnels,¹ and valleys crossed by massive viaducts. Near Naples may be seen one of these old tunnels still in use, called the Grotto of the Posillippo, which is over half a mile in length. It led the old Appian Way through a hill that at this point crossed its course. The usual width of the roadway was about thirteen feet; the bed was formed of broken stone and cement, upon which was sometimes laid, as in the case of the Via Appia, a regular pavement formed of large blocks of the hardest stone. Foot-paths often ran along the sides of the main roadway; mile-posts told the distance from the capital; and upon the best-

¹ In boring tunnels, the Roman engineers worked simultaneously from both sides of the mountain, in the same way that modern engineers do. In 1860 an inscription was discovered which contains a curious report of an engineer who had in charge the construction of an aqueduct tunnel for the town of Saldæ, in Algeria. During his absence the boring went awry, and the ends of the sections could not be brought together. The engineer was sent for. His report says: "I found everybody sad and despondent; they had given up all hopes that the two opposite sections of the tunnel would meet, because each section had already been excavated beyond the middle of the mountain, and the junction had not yet been effected. As always happens in these cases, the fault was attributed to the engineer, as though he had not taken all precautions to insure the success of the work. What could I have done better? I began by surveying and taking the levels of the mountain; I marked most carefully the axis of the tunnel across the ridge; I drew plans and sections of the whole work, which plans I handed over to Petronius Celer, then governor of Mauritania; and to take extra precaution, I summoned the contractor and his workmen, and began the excavation in their presence . . . Well, during the four years I was absent at Lambæse, expecting every day to hear the good tidings of the arrival of the waters at Saldæ, the contractor and the assistant had committed blunder upon blunder; in each section of the tunnel they had diverged from the straight line, each towards his right, and, had I waited a little longer before coming, Saldæ would have possessed two tunnels instead of one." — LANCIANI'S *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 61.

appointed roads seats were found disposed at proper intervals for the convenience of travellers. In the Forum at Rome was a gilded post, the ideal centre of the empire, and so of course of the world, from which distances on all the radiating roads were measured.

Aqueducts. — To supply a great city with abundant and wholesome water is a matter of no less difficulty than importance. All the great capitals of the world, ancient and modern, have secured



THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT. (From a Photograph.)

this boon only by the most lavish expenditure of labor and money. The kings of Babylon expended immense labor in the distribution of water through the gardens and residences of their capital. Solomon's greatest work, after the Temple, was the cutting of reservoirs (still existing as Solomon's Pools) for the collecting of water, and the construction of conduits to lead the same, from a distance of several miles, within the walls of Jerusalem. But the aqueducts of ancient Rome were the most stupendous construc-

tions of this nature ever executed by the inhabitants of any city. That capital was probably better supplied with water than any other great city of ancient or, possibly, of modern times. The old writers compare to rivers the streams that the aqueducts poured through its streets.

The water-system of Rome was commenced by Appius Claudius (about 313 B.C.), who secured the building of an aqueduct which led water into the city from the Sabine hills, through a subterranean channel eleven miles in length. From the spoils obtained in the war with Pyrrhus was built the Anio Aqueduct, so named because it brought water from the Anio River. A second aqueduct running from the same stream, and called the Anio Nova, to distinguish it from the older conduit, was about fifty-six miles in length. It ran beneath the ground until within about six miles of the city, when it was taken up on arches and thus carried over the low levels into the capital. In places this aqueduct was held up more than a hundred feet above the plain. During the republic four aqueducts were completed; under the emperors the number was increased to fourteen.¹

The Romans carried their aqueducts across depressions and valleys on high arches of masonry, not because they were ignorant of the principle that water seeks a level, but for the reason that they could not make large pipes strong enough to resist the very great pressure to which they would be subjected.² In some cases the principle of the inverted siphon was employed, and pipes (usually lead or earthen) were laid down one side of a valley and up the opposite slope. But their liability to accident, when the pressure was heavy, as we have intimated, led to the adoption in general of the other method. The lofty arches of

¹ Several of these are in use at the present day.

² "As to the main aqueducts, which supplied Rome with a daily volume of 54,000,000 cubic feet of water, it would have been impossible to substitute metal pipes for channels of masonry, because the Romans did not know cast-iron, and no pipe except of cast-iron could have supported such enormous pressure." — LANCIANI'S *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 60.

the ruined aqueducts that run in long broken lines over the plain beyond the walls of Rome are described by all visitors to the old capital as the most striking feature of the desolate Campagna.

Thermæ, or Baths. — The greatest demand upon the streams of water poured into Rome by the aqueducts was made by the Thermæ, or baths.¹ Among the ancient Romans, bathing, regarded at first simply as a troublesome necessity, became in time a luxurious art. During the republic, bathing-houses were erected in considerable numbers, the use of which could be purchased by a small entrance fee equivalent to about one cent of our money. Towards the end of the republic, when bathing had already come to be regarded as a luxury, ambitious politicians, anxious to gain the favor of the masses, would secure a free day for them at the baths. But it was during the imperial period that those magnificent structures to which the name of *Therma* properly attaches, were erected. Nero, Titus, Trajan, Commodus, Caracalla, Decius, Constantine, and Diocletian, all erected splendid thermæ, which, as they were intended to exhibit the liberality of their builders, were thrown open to the public free of charge. These edifices were very different affairs from the bathing-houses of the republican era. Those raised by the emperors were among the most elaborate and expensive of the imperial works. They contained chambers for cold, tepid, hot, sudatory, and swimming baths; dressing-rooms and gymnasia; museums and libraries; covered colonnades for loitering and conversation; extensive grounds filled with statues and traversed by pleasant walks; and every other adjunct that could add to the sense of luxury and relaxation.² The pavements were frequently set with the richest

¹ Vast quantities of water were also absorbed by the fountains, of which Rome is said to have had a larger number than any other city of the world in any age. M. Agrippa, the builder of the Pantheon, is credited with having set up 105, and his example found many imitators.

² Lanciani very aptly calls these imperial thermæ "gigantic club-houses, whither the voluptuary and the elegant youth repaired for pastime and enjoyment."

mosaics. The *Thermæ* of Diocletian contained over three thousand of these stone pictures. Caracalla's Baths had over sixteen hundred marble seats; granite pillars from Egypt decorated the colonnades; green marble panellings, cut in Numidia, lined many of the chambers; the fixtures of the baths were plated, and in some of the rooms were of solid silver. Some conception of the stupendous size of this structure may be gained from the fact that the entrance hall, or rotunda, of the building was almost as large as the celebrated Pantheon, which it resembled in form.

It was not the inhabitants of the capital alone that had converted bathing into a luxury and an art. There was no town of any considerable size anywhere within the limits of the empire that was not provided with its *thermæ*; and wherever springs possessing medicinal qualities broke from the ground, there arose magnificent baths, and such spots became the favorite watering-places of the Romans. Thus Baden-Baden was a noted and luxurious resort of the wealthy Romans centuries before it became the great summer haunt of the Germans. Baise, near Naples, on account of its warm sulphur springs and the beauty of its surroundings, became crowded with the pleasure-seekers of the capital. These bathing-towns, as was almost inevitable, acquired an unenviable reputation as hotbeds of vice and shameless indulgence.

All the Roman *thermæ*, after suffering repeated spoliation at the hands of successive robbers, have sunk into great heaps of rubbish. Many of their beautiful marbles were carried off by different Greek emperors to Constantinople. Charlemagne decorated his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle with columns torn from these imperial structures, which were then falling into dilapidation at Rome. The popes built others into St. Peter's Cathedral; and the masons of Rome, like the brick-hunters of Babylon and Nineveh, for centuries mined amidst the vast heaps of the ruined structures for marble blocks and statues, to be burned into lime for making cement. Modern excavations have

recovered from the mounds of rubbish some of the most famous of the sculptures that are to be found in the museums of Europe.

Palaces and Villas. — The residences of the wealthy Romans when built within the city walls were called mansions or palaces, but when located in the country were usually designated as villas. The Palatine was the aristocratic quarter of Rome, being occupied by the homes of the wealthy class. After the Great Fire, Nero erected here his Golden House, whose various buildings, courts, gardens, vineyards, fish-ponds, and other innumerable appendages, spread over much of the burnt district. It was "the most stupendous dwelling-place," declares Inge, "ever built for a mortal man." The central building upon the Palatine, shorn of its extensive grounds and useless adjuncts, became the residence of most of the emperors who held the throne after the death of Nero.

Among the villas frequently mentioned by the old writers are those of Scipio, Metellus, Lucullus, Cicero, Hortensius, Pliny, Horace, Virgil, Hadrian, and Diocletian. But to attempt enumeration would be misleading. Every wealthy Roman possessed his villa, and many affected to keep up several in different parts of Italy. These country residences, while retaining the elegance and all the conveniences of the city palace, — baths, museums, and libraries, — added to these such adjuncts as were denied a place by the restricted room of the capital, — extensive gardens, aviaries, fish-ponds, vineyards, olive orchards, shaded walks, and well-kept drives.

Perhaps the most noted of Roman villas was that of Hadrian at Tibur, now Tivoli. It was intended to be a miniature representation of the world — both the upper and the lower. There were theatres, baths, and temples of rare workmanship. In one part of the grounds were reproduced the Thessalian Vale of Tempe and other celebrated bits of scenery. Subterranean labyrinths enabled the visitor to make an Ænean descent into Hades, and a journey amidst the scenes of the dolorous region.¹

¹ GUHL and KONER's *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 372.

Within the ruined enclosure of the villa of Diocletian — the emperor who gave up imperial cares to raise vegetables at Salona, on the Adriatic — are crowded the buildings of the little modern village of Spalatro.

Triumphal Columns and Arches. — Among all peoples, whatever be their place in the scale of civilization, we find an instinct



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

or sentiment which prompts them to endeavor to perpetuate the memory of important events in their history by means of commemorative monuments. When Jacob, upon the spot where he had dreamed, set up a stone for a pillar and poured oil upon the top of it, he simply obeyed that universal impulse which has given to the world the grand lettered obelisks of the Pharaohs, destined, seemingly, to stand as long as the world shall endure, and the imposing sculptured columns of the Romans, to some of which

seems to have been granted the immortality of the Egyptian monuments.

The first historic column raised by the Romans was erected in the year 261 B.C., to commemorate their first naval victory, gained by Duillius over the Carthaginian fleet. It was decorated with the brazen prows of the broken and captured ships of the enemy (see p. 253). Trajan's Column, built to commemorate the Dacian victories of that emperor, is a remarkable work. It is still standing in an almost perfect state of preservation. It is over one hundred feet in height, and is pictured from base to summit with representations of battles and various scenes illustrative of Trajan's Dacian campaigns (see p. 342).

The triumphal arches of the Romans were modelled after the city gates, being constructed with single and with triple archways. Two of the most noted monuments of this character, and the most interesting because of their historic connections, are the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Constantine, both of which are still standing. Upon the former are represented the articles brought from Jerusalem by Titus as the spoils of the war against the Jews (see p. 339). The Arch of Constantine was intended to commemorate the victory of that emperor over Maxentius, which event established Christianity as the imperial and favored religion of the empire.

Sepulchral Monuments. — The Romans in the earliest times seem to have usually buried their dead; but towards the close of the republican period cremation, or burning, became common. When Christianity took possession of the empire, the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead which it taught caused inhumation, or burying, again to become the prevalent mode.

The favorite burying-place among the Romans was along the highways; the Appian Way was lined with sepulchral monuments for a distance of several miles from the gates of the capital (see cut on p. 385). Many of these are still standing. These memorial structures were as varied in design as are the monuments in our modern cemeteries. Shafts, broken columns, altars, pyramids, and chapels were oft-recurring forms.

Two sepulchral edifices of the imperial era deserve special notice. One of these was raised by Augustus as a tomb and monument for himself and his successors. It stood close to the banks of the Tiber, and consisted of an enormous circular tower raised upon a massive square substructure. A century later, this sepulchre having become filled, Hadrian constructed a similar monument, which was richer, however, in marbles and sculptures, upon the opposite bank of the Tiber. This structure was called, after the emperor, the Mole, or Mausoleum, of Hadrian. It is now used as a military fortress under the name of the Castle of St. Angelo. The massive structure, battered by many sieges and assaults and decayed through lapse of time, presents, next after the Colosseum, the most imposing appearance of any of the monuments of the ancient Romans.

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND LAW.

Literature among the Romans.—The literary or purely intellectual life of the Romans was in every way far inferior to that of the Greeks. The old conquerors of the world were too practical a race—were too much absorbed in the business of war and government—to find much time to pay devotion to the Muses, or to pursue with much earnestness those philosophical speculations which were so congenial to the Attic intellect.¹ All the national aims and pursuits of this martial race trained their ear to catch more music in the tread of legions than in the sweetest cadences of the poet's verse. Their very amusements tended to the same end as did their more serious employments. The stern real tragedies of the amphitheatre rendered tame the mock tragedies of the stage. The inspiration and encouragement of popular appreciation and applause, which raised the tragic drama to such lofty excellence at Athens, were almost wholly wanting at Rome.

¹ "The deepest and ultimate reason of the diversity between the two nations lay beyond doubt in the fact that Latium did not, and that Hellas did, during the season of growth come into contact with the East."—MOMMSEN.

Therefore, in the brief examination which we now purpose to make of Latin literature, we must not expect to discover such worth and genius as distinguish the intellectual productions of the Hellenic race; still we shall find the literary memorials of the Roman people possessing so many eminent qualities and so much merit that we shall acknowledge they are justly assigned a prominent, though not the foremost, place among the literary treasures of the world.

The Period of Literary Activity. — It was only the last two centuries of the republic and the first of the empire — only three centuries in all — that were marked by the literary activity and productiveness of the Latin intellect. The first five centuries of Roman history are almost barren of literary monuments. But in the third century B.C., under the fostering influences of the republic, literature began to spring up and to flourish, and by the time of the establishment of the empire, had reached its fullest and richest development; then, upon the fall of the institutions of the republican era, it soon began to languish, and survived the death of freedom barely a single century. The last four hundred years of the imperial era exhibit the name of scarcely a single writer of vigor and originality.

We here learn how depressing and withering are the influences of a capricious and irresponsible despotism, which forbids all freedom and truthfulness, upon the intellectual and literary life of a people. Literature is a plant that thrives best in the free air of a republic. It is true, indeed, that some of the choicest fruit of the Latin intellect ripened during the first years of the empire; but this had been long maturing under the influences of the republican period, and should properly be credited to that era. Besides, the evil tendencies of the unlimited monarchy had not yet manifested themselves under Augustus; still, even during the reign of that emperor, Ovid, one of the brightest minds of the period, was exiled, without any reason being assigned for the act, to the barbarous shores of the Euxine. But the conduct of the despot Nero will better illustrate what we have affirmed. That tyrant

was on the point of burning every copy of the *Iliad* and of the *Æneid*, because, in the imperial judgment, Homer had no taste, and Virgil was without genius. What shall literature do under such censorship?

Relation of Roman to Greek Literature. — Latin literature was almost wholly imitative or borrowed, being a reproduction of Greek models; still it performed a most important service for civilization: it was the medium for the dissemination throughout the world of the rich literary treasures of Greece.

In order to realize the greatness of its work and influence, we must bear in mind that the spread of the Latin tongue was coextensive with the conquests of Rome. The subjugated nations, with the laws of their conquerors, received also their language. In those countries where the subjected peoples were inferior in civilization to the Romans, the language of the conquerors came into general use. Such was the condition of all the nations in the West. Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Northern Africa became so thoroughly Romanized before the overthrow of the empire that the Latin tongue, much corrupted of course from the classical forms of the capital, came into universal use among all classes. It was somewhat different in the East, where the Hellenic language and culture had been spread. The speech of Rome never succeeded in crowding out the Greek language as it pushed aside and displaced the various rude and barbarous dialects of the tribes of Western Europe. Yet throughout all the Eastern provinces the Roman tongue became the speech of the ruling class, and was understood and very generally employed by men of education and social position.

We see, then, how very extended was the audience addressed by the Roman writers. The works of the Latin poets and historians were read everywhere within the limits of the Roman empire, and that is equivalent to saying that they circulated throughout the civilized world. And wherever Latin literature found its way there were scattered broadcast the seeds of Grecian culture, science, and philosophy. The relation of Rome to

Greece was exactly the same as that of Phœnicia to Egypt, as expressed by Lenormant: Greece was the mother of modern civilization; Rome was its missionary.

Lays and Ballads of the Legendary Age. — The period embraced between the eighth and fourth centuries B.C. may properly be called the Heroic Age of Rome. It corresponds exactly, in its literary products, to the similarly designated period in Grecian history. During this early age there sprang up a great number of hymns, ballads, or lays, of which the merest fragments survived the varying fortunes of the state, and were preserved in the works of the later writers of the republic. "The fabulous birth of Romulus, the rape of the Sabine women, the most poetical combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, the pride of Tarquin, the misfortunes and death of Lucretia, the establishment of liberty by the elder Brutus, the wonderful war with Porcenna, the steadfastness of Scævola, the banishment of Coriolanus, the war which he kindled against his country, the subsequent struggle of his feelings, and the final triumph of his patriotism at the all-powerful intercession of his mother — these and the like circumstances, if they be examined from the proper point of view, cannot fail to be considered as relics and fragments of the ancient heroic traditions and heroic poems of the Romans."¹

These stories must be placed along with the Grecian tales of Cadmus and Theseus, of the Argonautic Expedition and the Trojan War. They belong to the literary, and not to the historical, annals of the Roman people. They may be made use of for historical purposes, but only in the same way that the poems of Homer are used. The references and allusions they contain throw light upon the manners, customs, and modes of thinking of the remote times in which they grew up. The few threads of fact that may be drawn from them have been woven into the picture which, in a previous chapter, we attempted to form of the early Roman state.

¹ Schlegel, in *Lectures on Literature*, as quoted by Dunlop in *History of Roman Literature*, vol. i. p. 41.

The Roman Dramatists. — From the earliest times Rome was under the influence of Grecian civilization, as is shown in the laws of the Twelve Tables; but the conquest of the Hellenic cities of Southern Italy as the outcome of the war with Pyrrhus, and the acquisition of Sicily as the result of the First Punic War, brought the Romans into much closer relations than had hitherto existed with the arts and culture of the Greeks. The Romans now began to study with much appreciation, and not without profit, the rich stores of Greek literature opened to them. Among the leading families of Rome, it became the fashion to commit the education of children to Greek slaves. The conqueror bows at the feet of the conquered. The intellectual sway of Athens over Rome becomes not less complete and despotic than the political sway of Rome over Athens. The debt incurred by the Romans in all intellectual and literary matters to the Greeks has been declared to be but faintly paralleled by that incurred by the English in theology, philosophy, and music to Germany.¹ "Their [the Romans'] genius, I believe," says Dunlop, "would have remained unproductive and cold half a century longer, had it not been kindled by contact with a warm, polished, and animated nation, whose compositions could not be read without enthusiasm or imitated without advantage."²

It was the dramatic productions of the Greeks which were first copied and studied by the Romans. Translations for the stage, particularly those of a comic character, were received with great favor, and the theatre became the popular resort of all classes. For nearly two centuries, from 240 B.C. to 78 B.C., dramatic literature was almost the only form of composition cultivated at Rome. During this epoch appeared all the great dramatists ever produced by the Latin-speaking race. Of these we may name, for brief mention, Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Plautus, and Terence. All of these writers were close imitators of Greek authors,

¹ CRUTWELL's *History of Roman Literature*, p. 36.

² DUNLOP's *History of Roman Literature*, vol. i, p. 55.

and most of their works were simply adaptations or translations of the masterpieces of the Greek dramatists.

Livius Andronicus, who lived about the middle of the third century B.C., was probably a Greek prisoner carried to Rome from some city of Magna Græcia. He was the father of the Roman drama. He transformed the mimic dances, which had been introduced at Rome by Etruscan actors about a century before his time (in 364 B.C.), into a real dramatic representation, by adding to the performance dialogues to be recited by the actors. He was the performer of his own pieces, and was so often recalled by his admirers that he overtaxed and lost his voice. After this misfortune befell him, he employed a boy to declaim those parts of the dialogue which required to be rendered in a high tone, while he himself played the flute, recited the less declamatory passages, and accompanied the whole with the proper gesticulation. This mode of representation, which Livius had been constrained to adopt through accident, afterwards became the fashion in the Roman theatres; and the plays were usually presented by two persons, one reciting the words and the other accompanying them with the appropriate gestures.

Nævius, who wrote about the close of the third century B.C., was the first native-born Roman poet of eminence. His works were translations from various Greek dramatists. He imitated Aristophanes; and as the latter lashed the corrupt politicians of Athens, so did the former expose to ridicule and contempt different members of the leading patrician families at Rome. He did not escape with impunity; for he was once in prison, and finally died an exile at Utica or Cathage (about 204 B.C.). Nævius bore part as a soldier in the First Punic War, and he found solace during the years of his exile in writing in epic verse the events of that stirring time.

Ennius, a contemporary of Nævius, was an epic as well as a dramatic writer. The greatest work from his prolific pen was the *Annals*, an epic poem recounting in graceful and vigorous verse the story of Rome from the times of the kings to his own day.

Had Virgil never lived, Ennius must always have been named as the greatest epic poet produced by the Roman race; and the fragments of his *Annals* which still survive would be carefully preserved as the remains of the Roman *Iliad*. For two centuries, until the advent of the Augustan poets, the works of Ennius held almost supreme sway over the Roman mind. His verses were constantly rehearsed in the theatres; they were committed to memory by the Roman youth, were quoted by the orator, and borrowed by the poet. Virgil acknowledged Ennius as his master by becoming a diligent student of his works, and by transcribing word for word many of his most beautiful passages.

Plautus (254-184 B.C.) and Terence (195-161 B.C.) were writers of comedy, who won a fame that has not yet perished. Plautus adapted various Greek plays to the Roman stage. Almost all his pieces he filled with low wit and drollery, in order to catch the ear of the lower classes that thronged the theatres. His plays reproduced before the inhabitants of the capital the corrupt life of the East, whose debasing influences were at this time beginning to effect a lowering of the tone of society at Rome. Terence wrote more for the cultured classes, and did not stoop to employ those means by which Plautus secured the applause of his audiences. All of the six comedies which Terence wrote were either translations or adaptations from the Greek. As Plautus and Terence borrowed from the Greek stage, so have all modern writers of comedy — Italian, French, and English — drawn freely from these their great Roman predecessors.¹

¹ "The earliest writers," as has justly been remarked, 'took possession of the most striking objects for description, and the most probable occurrences for fiction, and left nothing to those that followed but transcriptions of the same events, and new combinations of the same images' [*Rasselas*]. The great author from whom these reflections are quoted had at one time actually projected a work to show how small a quantity of invention there is in the world, and that the same images and incidents, with little variation, have served all the authors who have ever written. Had he prosecuted his intention, he would have found the notion he entertained fully confirmed by the history both of dramatic and romantic fiction; he would have perceived the

Poets of the Later Republican Era. — In the year 146 B.C., Corinth in Greece was destroyed, the treasures of its museums and the rolls of its libraries were carried to Italy, and Roman authority became supreme throughout Greece. The impulse that had been given to the study of Greek models by the conquest of Magna Græcia more than one hundred years before was now intensified and strengthened. But with the introduction of the learning and refinement of the conquered states came also the luxuries and vices of the East. Just at this time, evoked, it would seem, by the shameless extravagances and corruptions that invited rebuke, appeared Lucilius (born 148 B.C.), one of the greatest of Roman satirists. The later satirists of the corrupt imperial era were the imitators of the republican poet.

Besides Lucilius, there appeared during the later republican era only two other poets of distinguished merit, — Lucretius and Catullus. Both were born early in the last century before Christ. Lucretius studied at Athens, where he became deeply imbued with the doctrines of the Epicurean philosophy, which at that time was in the ascendant at the Attic capital. He left behind him but a single work, entitled *De Rerum Natura* — ("On the Nature of Things"). Lucretius was a thorough evolutionist, and in his great poem we find anticipated many of the conclusions of modern scientists. He pictures Chaos with more than Miltonic power; tells how the worlds were formed by a "fortuitous concourse of atoms"; relates how the generations of life were evolved by the teeming earth; ridicules the superstitions of his countrymen, declaring that the gods do not trouble themselves with earthly affairs, but that storms, lightning, volcanoes, and pestilences are produced by natural causes, and not by the anger

incapacity of the most active and fertile imagination greatly to diversify the common characters and incidents of life, which, on a superficial view, one might suppose to be susceptible of infinite combinations; he would have found that, while Plautus and Terence servilely copied from the Greek dramatists, even Ariosto scarcely diverged in his comedies from the paths of Plautus." — DUNLOP'S *History of Roman Literature*, Preface, p. xix.

of the celestials; and finally reaches the conclusion that death ends all for the human soul. Lucretius is studied more by modern scholars, whose discoveries and theories he so marvellously anticipated, than he was by the Romans of his own time.

Catullus was a poet the beauty and sweetness of whose verses are winning to their study at the present day many ardent admirers. He was born 87 a.c., and died at the age of about forty. He complains of poverty; yet he kept two villas, and found means to indulge in all the expensive and licentious pleasures of the capital. He has been called the Roman Burns, as well on account of the waywardness of his life as from the sweetness of his song. The name of Catullus closes the short list of the prominent poets of the republican period of the Golden Age.

Poets of the Augustan Age. — Three poets have cast an unfading lustre over the period covered by the reign of Augustus, — Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. So distinguished have these writers rendered the age in which they lived, that any period in a people's literature signalized by exceptional literary taste and refinement is called, in allusion to the Roman era, an *Augustan Age*. After the terrific commotion that marked the decline and overthrow of the republic, the long and firm and peaceful reign of Augustus brought welcome relief and rest to the Roman world, wearied with conquests and with contentions over the spoils of war. In narrating the political history of this period, we spoke of the effect of the fall of the republic upon the development of Latin literature. Many who, if the republican institutions had continued, would have been absorbed in the affairs of the state, were led, by the change of government, to seek solace for their disappointed hopes, and employment for their enforced leisure, in the graceful labors of elegant composition. Augustus encouraged this disposition, thinking thus to turn the thoughts of ambitious minds from broodings over the lost cause. By his princely patronage of letters he opened a new and worthy field for the efforts and competitions of the active and the aspiring.

His minister Mæcenas, in whose veins flowed royal Etruscan blood, vied with his master in the bestowal of munificent rewards upon friends, and in the extension of a helpful and inspiring patronage to literary merit, and thus did much towards creating the enthusiasm for letters that distinguishes this period.

The vastness of the audience they addressed also reacted upon the writers of this era, and encouraged the greatest painstaking in all their productions. Never before had literary men spoken to so extended an audience as to so much of the world. The boundaries of the Roman empire now touched everywhere the limits of civilization. And throughout these ample domains the Roman language had become more or less universally spread. In all the West, as we have seen, in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain, in the cities of Northern Africa it was rapidly supplanting the barbarous dialects of the conquered tribes; while throughout all the provinces and cities of the East it was the speech of the court, of the aristocracy, of learning. The works of Virgil, of Horace, and of Ovid were read and admired in the camps of Gaul and in the capitals of Greece and Syria. Political tranquillity, elegant leisure, imperial patronage, the inspirations of Greek genius, the encouragement of appreciation and wide attention—everything conspired to create an epoch in the world of literature.

And yet we must not look for vigor, strength, originality, nervous energy, in the productions of the writers of this period. These qualities belong to times of great public excitement; to periods of activity, change, revolution; to those eras that signalize the crises and grand struggles of a people's life. They mark creative, Shakespearian epochs in literature. Elegance, grace, refinement, polish, taste, beauty, are the characteristics of the Augustan writers.

Of the three poets whom we have named as the representatives of the poetry of the Augustan period, Virgil doubtless has been the most widely read and admired. He was born 70 B.C. in the little village of Andes, not far from Mantua. In diligent study at Rome, he formed the acquaintance of the master-minds of

Grecian literature, and felt the inspirations of the past life of Hellas. Upon his farm at Mantua he learned to love nature and the freedom of a country life. During the disorders of the Second Triumvirate his villa was confiscated, along with the whole Mantuan district, and given to friends of Octavius and Antony. It was afterwards restored to the poet by Augustus. Virgil was laboring upon his greatest work, the *Æneid*, when death came to him, in the fifty-second year of his age.

The three great works of Virgil are his *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Æneid*. The *Eclogues* are a series of pastorals, which are very close imitations of the poems of the Sicilian Theocritus.¹ Virgil, however, never borrowed without adorning that which he appropriated by the inimitable touches of his own graceful genius. It is the rare sweetness and melody of the versification of these pieces and the deep love of nature shown in them that have won for them so many admirers.

In the poem of the *Georgics* Virgil extols and dignifies the husbandman and his labor. This work has been pronounced the most finished poem in the entire range of Latin literature. It was written at the suggestion of Mæcenas, who hoped by means of the poet's verse to allure his countrymen back to that love for the art of husbandry which animated the fathers of the early Roman state. Throughout the work Virgil follows very closely the *Works and Days* of Hesiod.² The poet treats of all the labors and cares of the farm—gives valuable precepts respecting the keeping of bees and cattle, the sowing and tillage of crops, the dressing of vineyards and orchards, and embellishes the whole with innumerable passages containing beautiful descriptions of natural scenery, or inculcating some philosophical truth, or teaching some moral lesson. Without the *Georgics* we should never have had the *Seasons* of Thomson; for this work of the English poet is in a large measure a direct translation of the verses of Virgil.

¹ See *History of Greece*, p. 174.

² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

The *Æneid* stands next to the *Iliad* as the greatest epic poem of all literatures. It tells the story of the wanderings of Æneas and his companions up and down the Mediterranean after the downfall of Troy, his settlement in Italy, and the struggles of his descendants with the native inhabitants of the land. Through Æneas, the hero of the poem, Virgil doubtless intends to represent and compliment the character of his patron, Augustus. In this, his greatest work, Virgil was a close student of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and to them he is indebted for very many of his finest metaphors, similes, and descriptive passages, as well as for the general plan and structure of the entire work. To Ennius is he also indebted for many a verse. Homer was Virgil's superior in energy and originality, and in the martial grandeur of his lines; while the latter surpassed his master in the grace and melody of his versification.

Virgil enjoyed for his work that reward which many another worthy poet has been denied — the appreciation of his genius during his own lifetime. The poet, in accordance with a custom that in his day was common, read or recited his poems in the presence of select friends, and also in public. On one occasion he repeated the sixth book of his *Æneid* before his imperial patron Augustus and his sister Octavia, who was then mourning the recent death of her son Marcellus, the special favorite and adopted child of the emperor. In the part of the poem rehearsed by Virgil occurs the well-known passage that mourns with the tenderest pathos the too early death of the favorite prince. The closing lines, which alone reveal the name of the subject of the lament, run thus:

"Ah, dear lamented boy, canst thou but break
The stern decrees of fate, then wilt thou be
Our own Marcellus! — Give me lilies, brought
In heaping handfuls. Let me scatter here
Dead purple flowers; these offerings at least
To my descendant's shade I fain would pay,
Though now, alas! an unavailing rite."¹

¹ *Æneid*, book vi. (Cranch's translation).

It is said that as Virgil read these verses Octavia was so carried away by her feelings that she fainted, and that the poet was afterwards presented with 10,000 sesterces (about \$400) for each of the twenty-five lines of the passage.

Horace, the second great poet of the Augustan Age, was born in the year 65 B.C., only five years later than Virgil, whom he outlived by about a single decade. He studied at Athens, fought with the republicans at Philippi, gained no glory — for he tells us himself how he ran away from the field — but lost his paternal estate at Venusia, which was confiscated, and under the imperial government commenced life anew as a clerk at Rome. Through his friend Virgil he secured the favor of Mæcenas, and gained an introduction to Augustus, and thenceforth led the life of a courtier, dividing his time between the pleasures of the capital and the scenes of his pleasant farm near the village of Tiber. The latter years of his life were shadowed by the deaths of his poet-friends Virgil and Tibullus, and that of his generous patron Mæcenas, whom he survived only a few weeks. Horace's *Odes*, *Satires*, and *Epistles* have all helped win for him his wide-spread fame; but the first best exhibit his rare grace and genius.

Ovid (43 B.C.—A.D. 18) is the third name in the triumvirate of poets that ruled the Augustan Age. He was the most learned of the three, seeming indeed to be acquainted with the whole round of Greek and Latin literature and speculation. For some fault or misdemeanor, the precise nature of which remains a profound secret to this day, Augustus, his former friend and patron, banished the poet to a small town away on the frontiers of the empire — on the bleak shores of the Euxine. There he spent the last years of his life, bewailing his hard lot in the mournful verses of his *Tristia*. His most celebrated work is his *Metamorphoses*, the preservation of which we owe to the merest good-fortune. When the emperor's decree was brought to him, he was at work revising the manuscript, which, in despair or anger, he flung into the fire. Fortunately some friend had previously made a copy of the work, and thus this literary treasure was saved to the world. The poem

opens with a sublime description of Chaos and the creation of the world; then tells of the production of monstrous life by the prolific earth, and of the changing races of men and giants; after which the poet proceeds to describe, through fifteen books, between two and three hundred metamorphoses, or transformations — such as the change of the companions of Ulysses into swine, of Cadmus into a serpent, and of Arethusa into a fountain — suffered by various persons, gods, heroes, and goddesses, as related in the innumerable fables of the Greek and Roman mythologies.

We have already alluded to Tibullus as the friend of Virgil and Horace. His graceful elegies entitle his name to a prominent place among the poets of the Augustan Age. Propertius, too, was another honored and beloved member of the brilliant coterie of poets that have rendered the reign of Augustus ever memorable in the literary history of the world.

Satire and Satirists. — Satire thrives best in the reeking soil and tainted atmosphere of an age of selfishness, immorality, and vice. Such an age was that which followed the Augustan era at Rome. The throne was held by such imperial monsters as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. The profligacy of fashionable life at the capital and the various watering-places of the empire was open and shameless. The degradation of the court; the corrupt and dissolute life of the upper classes; the imbruted life of the masses, fed by largesses of corn and entertained with the bloody shows of the amphitheatre; the decay of the ancient religion, and the almost universal prevalence of unbelief and absolute atheism; the utter loss of the simplicity and virtue of the early Roman fathers, and the almost complete degradation of the intellect, — all these gave venom and point to the shafts of those who were goaded by the spectacle into attacking the immoralities and vices which were silently yet rapidly sapping the foundations of both society and state. Hence arose a succession of writers whose mastery of sharp and stinging satire has caused their productions to become the models of all subsequent attempts in the same species of literature. Two names stand out in spe-

cial prominence, — Persius (A.D. 34–62) and Juvenal¹ (about A.D. 40–120). The works of these writers possess a special historical value and interest, since it is through them that we gain an insight, such as we could obtain in no other way, into the venal and corrupt life of the capital during the early portion of the imperial period.

The indignant protest of the writers Persius and Juvenal against the vice and degradation of their time is almost the last utterance of the Latin Muse. From this time forward the decay of the intellectual life of Rome was swift and certain. While the Greek intellect, as we have learned, survived by many centuries the destruction of the political life of Greece, the Latin intellect sank into decrepitude centuries before the final fall of the empire. The political fabric — so admirably consolidated had it become through the growth and labors of many centuries — remained standing, like an aged oak, long after its heart had been eaten away. But it could put forth no new shoots. After the death of Juvenal (about A.D. 120) the Roman world produced not a single poet of sufficient genius to merit our attention.

Oratory among the Romans. — “Public oratory,” as has been truly said, “is the child of political freedom, and cannot exist without it.” We have seen this illustrated in the history of republican Athens. Equally well is the same truth exemplified by the records of the Roman state. All the great orators of Rome arose under the republic. As during this period almost the entire intellectual force of the nation was directed towards legal and political studies, it was natural, and indeed inevitable, that the most famous orators of the era should appear as statesmen or

¹ Martial, an epigrammatic poet (born about A.D. 40), also was a satirist of this period, but he rebuked only some of the minor vices of society. Many of his writings, judged by the moral sense of to-day, are grossly immoral.

² There are two other poets belonging to this age whose names must not be passed unmentioned, — Lucan (A.D. 38–65) and Statius (A.D. 61–95). Lucan's only extant work is his *Pharsalia*, an epic poem on the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. Statius wrote two epics, the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid*, the latter being left incomplete.

advocates. Theology, science, and belles-lettres did not then, as they have come to do among ourselves, suggest inviting and popular themes for the best efforts of the public speaker.

Roman oratory was senatorial, popular, and judicial. These different styles of eloquence were represented by the grave and dignified debates of the Senate, the impassioned and often noisy and inelegant harangues of the Forum, and the learned pleadings or ingenious appeals of the courts. Junius Brutus, Appius Claudius Cæcus, the Scipios, Cato the Censor, Gaius and Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius Lælius, Marcus Antonius, Lucius L. Crassus, Sulpicius, Hortensius, Julius Cæsar, Mark Antony,¹ and Cicero are some of the most prominent names that have made the rostrum of the Roman Forum and the assembly-chamber of the Roman Senate famous in the records of oratory and eloquence. Among all these orators, Hortensius and Cicero are easily first.

Hortensius (114-50 B.C.) was a famous lawyer, whose name adorns the legal profession at the capital both as the learned jurist and the eloquent advocate. His forensic talent won for him a lucrative law-practice, through which he gathered an immense fortune. Besides a mansion on the Palatine, he possessed several villas, which were kept up with a most profuse expenditure. The olive-trees in his gardens were sprinkled with wine, to improve the flavor of the fruit. His fish-ponds were stocked with an infinite variety of fresh and marine fish, the food and health of which were matters of greater concern to their master than the food and health of his slaves. It is told that he actually wept over the untimely death of a favorite lamprey.

But the brightness of the fame of Hortensius is dimmed by the lustre of the name of Marcus Tullius Cicero² (106-43 B.C.), the untiring student, the constant patriot, the polished orator. He has been called "the Edward Everett of antiquity." He enjoyed every advantage that wealth and parental ambition could con-

¹ Grandson of Marcus Antonius.

² Some critics, however, are unwilling to accord much praise to Cicero. Mommsen declares that he was nothing but a "dexterous stylist."

fer or suggest. His teachers were the poet Archias and the orator Crassus. Like many others of the Roman patrician youths of his



CICERO. (From a bust at Madrid.)

time, he was sent to Greece to finish his education in the schools of Athens. Returning to Italy, he soon assumed a position of commanding influence at the Roman capital. His prosecution of Verres shows his hatred of the official corruption and venality that disgraced his times; his orations against Catiline illustrate his patriotism; his essays exhibit the wide range of his thoughts and the nature of his philosophical reflections. The most of his works evince the most scrupulous care

in their preparation. He was a purist in language, and is said to have sometimes spent several days hunting for a proper word or phrase. His greatest fault was his overweening vanity, which appears in all he ever wrote, as well as in every act of his life. But the times in which Cicero lived rather than the orator himself are responsible for this. The ancient Romans possessed scarcely a trace of that sense of propriety which has grown up among us, and which forbids a person's celebrating his own virtues. Self-laudation, when not too fulsome, did not grate on the ears of Cicero's auditors.

Latin Historians.—Ancient Rome produced four writers of history whose works have won for them a permanent fame—Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Suetonius may also be mentioned in this place, although his writings were rather biographical than historical.

¹ A fuller list of Roman historical authors would have to admit the name of Fabius Pictor, who lived in the age of Nævius, and was the first historian of the Latin-speaking race; that of Cato the Censor, of whose *Antiquities* we

Of Cæsar and his *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, we have learned in a previous chapter. This work and his *Memoirs of the Civil War* are the productions on which his fame as a writer depends. He also prepared a Latin grammar, a book on divination, a treatise on astronomy, and, besides, composed some poems that are not without merit. But Cæsar was a man of affairs rather than a man of letters. Yet his *Commentaries* will always be mentioned along with the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, as a model of the narrative style of writing.

Sallust (86-34 B.C.) was the contemporary and friend of Cæsar. He was prætor of one of the African provinces. Following the example of the Roman officials of his time, he amassed by harsh if not unjust exactions an immense fortune, and erected at Rome a palatial residence with extensive and beautiful gardens, which became one of the favorite resorts of the literary characters of the capital. The two works upon which his fame rests are the *Conspiracy of Catiline* and the *Jugurthine War*. Both of these productions are reckoned among the best examples of historical composition in the range of Latin literature, and are found in the hands of every classical student in the universities of Europe and America.

Livy (59 B.C.-A.D.17) was one of the brightest ornaments of the Augustan Age. In popular esteem he holds the first place among Latin historical authors. Herodotus among the ancient, and Macaulay among the modern, writers of historical narrative are the names with which his is oftenest compared. His greatest work is his *Annals*, a history of Rome from the earliest times to the year 9 B.C. Unfortunately, all save thirty-five of the books of this admirable production—the work filled one hundred and forty-two volumes—perished during the disturbed period that followed the overthrow of the empire. Many have been the laments over “the lost books of Livy.” The fragments which remain have been universally read and admired for the inimitable

possess the merest fragments; and that of Cornelius Nepos, who wrote in the first century B.C.

grace and ease of the flowing narrative. Livy loved a story equally well with Herodotus. Like the Greek historian, he was over-credulous, and relates with charming ingenuousness, without the least questioning of their credibility, all the early legends, myths, and ballads that were extant in his day, respecting the early affairs of Rome. Modern critics, among whom are Niebuhr and Mommsen, have shown that all the first portion of his history is entirely unreliable as a chronicle of actual events. However, it is a most entertaining account of what the Romans themselves thought and believed respecting the origin of their race, the founding of their city and state, and the deeds and virtues of their forefathers.

The works of Tacitus are his *Germania*, a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans; the *Life of Agricola*, his *History*, and his *Annals*. All of these are most admirable productions, polished and graceful narratives, full of entertainment and instruction. His *Germania*, written, it is thought by some, out of the fulness of knowledge derived from personal observation through service or residence on the Rhenish frontier, gives us the fullest information that we possess respecting the manners, beliefs, and social arrangements of our barbarian ancestors while they were yet living beneath their native forests. Tacitus dwells with delight upon the simple life of the uncivilized Germans, and sets their virtues in strong contrast with the immoralities of the refined and cultured Romans. His treatise on the life and campaigns of Agricola, his father-in-law, is pronounced one of the most admirable biographies in the entire round of literature. It gives a most vivid and picturesque portrayal of the conquest of Britain and the establishment of Roman authority in that remote island. The *History* and *Annals* cover the reigns of some of the best and some of the worst of the rulers of the early empire. The hot indignation of the virtuous and patriotic historian, poured out in scathing invective against a Nero and a Domitian, has caused his name to be frequently placed with those of Persius, Juvenal, and the other Roman satirists.

Suetonius (A.D. 75-160) was the biographer of the Twelve Cæsars. It is to him that we are indebted for very many of the details of the lives of these early emperors. The picture which he draws is painted in dark colors, yet it is doubtless in the main a fairly reliable portraiture of some of the most detestable tyrants that ever disgraced a throne.

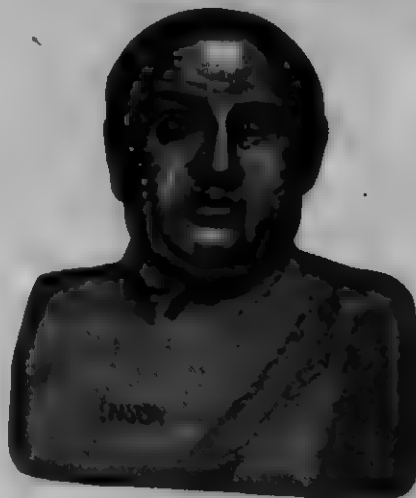
Science, Ethics, and Philosophy.—Under this head may be grouped the names of Varro, Seneca, Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, Quintilian, and Phædrus.

Varro (116-26 B.C.) belongs to the later years of the republic. His almost universal knowledge has earned for him the title of "the most learned of the Romans." He witnessed the terrific scenes of the days of Sulla and Marius, of Pompey and Cæsar, of Octavius and Antony. He himself was among the proscribed in the lists of the cruel Antony, and his magnificent villas—for he had immense wealth—were confiscated. Augustus gave him back his farms, but could not restore his library, which had perished in the sack of his villas. Like many another in those turbulent times, when he saw the hopeless ruin of the republic and the establishment of despotism in its place, he sought solace in the pursuit of literature. Almost the entire circle of letters was adorned by his versatile pen: he is said to have written five hundred books. His most valuable production, however, was a work on agriculture, a sort of hand-book for the Italian farmer.

Seneca (about A.D. 1-65), moralist and philosopher, has already come to our notice as the tutor of Nero. The act of his life which has been most severely condemned was the defence which he made of his master before the Senate for the tyrant's murder of his mother, Agrippina. Nero requited but poorly the infamous service. Seneca possessed an enormous fortune, estimated at 300,000,000 sesterces, which the ever-needy emperor coveted; he accordingly accused him of taking part in a conspiracy against his life, ordered his death, and confiscated his estates. The philosopher met his fate calmly. Upon receiving the decree of his master, he opened the veins of his body, and

died in his warm bath, whither he had retired in order that the flow of the blood might be accelerated, for it had become sluggish from age.

As a philosopher Seneca belonged to the school of the Stoics.



SENECA.

He wrote many essays and letters, the latter intended for publication, containing lofty maxims of wisdom and virtue, which he certainly did not always follow in the conduct of his own life. He was a disbeliever in the popular religion of his countrymen, and entertained conceptions of God and his moral government not very different from the doctrines of Socrates. So admirable are his ethical teachings that it has been maintained the philosopher came under the influences of

Christianity; and several letters addressed to the apostle Paul, which are still extant, were formerly referred to as proof of this fact; but these have been shown to be spurious. Besides his ethical and philosophical writings, Seneca composed ten tragedies, designed rather for reading than for the stage. Seneca's name will ever be noted as that of a great teacher of virtue and morality to a corrupt age, whose influence upon himself all his philosophy could not wholly resist.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79) is almost the only Roman who won renown as an investigator of the phenomena of nature. His life was a marvellously busy one, every moment being filled with public services, with observations, study, and writing. He seldom walked, but rode or was carried in a litter, that he might not lose a moment from his studies. At his meals and toilet he had a slave read to him.

Pliny lost his life in an over-zealous pursuit of science. He was

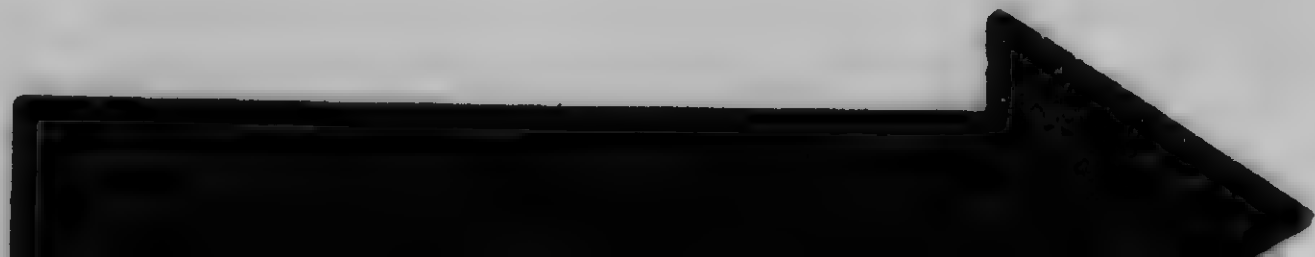
in command of the Roman fleet at Misenum when occurred the eruption of Vesuvius which resulted in the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Subduing the fears of his officers, who wished to flee from the scene, Pliny employed the ships of his fleet in rescuing the inhabitants of the coast. His vessels, while engaged in this work, were covered with the hot ashes that darkened the air and fell incessantly in heavy showers. In order to gain a better view of the mountain, the philosopher ordered his sailors to put him ashore; but unfortunately he ventured too near the volcano, and was overcome and suffocated by the sulphurous exhalations.

The only work of Pliny that has been spared to us is his *Natural History*, embracing thirty-seven volumes. It is a monument of untiring industry and extensive research. It contains 20,000 citations from more than two thousand volumes of various authors. It was the Roman Encyclopædia, containing all that the world then knew respecting astronomy, geography, botany, zoölogy, medicine, and the arts of painting and statuary. In this work he defends the theory of the sphericity of the earth, and declares that it is a globe hanging, by what means supported he knows not, in vacant space.

In connection with the name of Pliny the Elder must be mentioned that of his nephew, Pliny the Younger. He succeeded to the estate, and to somewhat of the fame, of his celebrated uncle. He was a man of letters, being a graceful writer and orator, yet was not a naturalist like the first Pliny. He was a servile courtier, and wrote a eulogy upon the character of the Emperor Trajan which is filled with the most fulsome praise. Pliny's epistles, like the letters of Cicero, are among the most valuable of Roman prose productions that have come down to us.

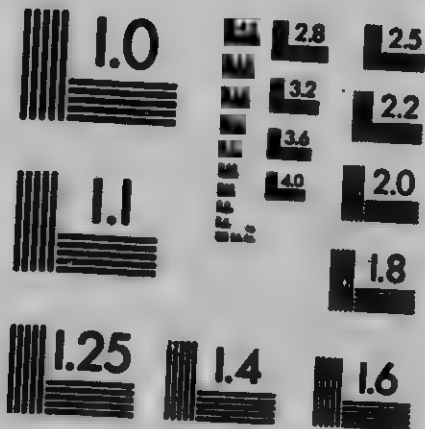
Marcus Aurelius the emperor and Epictetus the slave hold the first places among the ethical teachers of Rome. The former wrote his *Meditations*; but the latter, like Socrates, committed nothing to writing, so that we know of the character of his teachings only through one of his pupils, Arrian by name. Epictetus was for many years a slave at the capital, but, securing in some





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way his freedom, he became a teacher of philosophy. Domitian having ordered all philosophers to leave Rome, Epictetus fled to Epirus, where he established a school in which he taught the doctrines of Stoicism. His name is inseparably linked with that of Marcus Aurelius as a teacher of the purest system of ethics that is found outside of Christianity. Epictetus and Aurelius were the last eminent representatives and expositors of the philosophy of Zeno. They were the last of the Stoics. In them Stoicism bore its consummate flower and fruit. The doctrines of the Galilean were even then fast taking possession of the Roman world; for, giving more place to the affections and all the natural instincts, they readily won the hearts of men from the cold, unsympathetic abstractions of the Grecian sage.

Quintilian (A.D. 40-118) was the one great grammarian and rhetorician that the Roman race produced. For about a quarter of a century he was the most noted lecturer at Rome on educational and literary subjects. One of the booksellers of the capital, after much persuasion, finally prevailed upon the teacher to publish his lectures. They were received with great favor, and Quintilian's *Institutes* have never ceased to be studied and copied by all succeeding writers on education and rhetoric.¹

¹ The allusions which we have made to the publishing trade suggest a word respecting ancient publishers and books. There were in Rome several publishing houses, which, in their day, enjoyed a wide reputation and conducted a very extended business. "Indeed, the antique book-trade," says Guhl, "was carried on on a scale hardly surpassed by modern times. . . . The place of the press in our literature was taken by the slaves." Through practice they gained surprising facility as copyists, and books were multiplied with great rapidity. And, as to the books themselves, we must bear in mind that a book in the ancient sense was simply a roll of manuscript or parchment, and contained nothing like the amount of matter held by an ordinary modern volume. Thus Caesar's *Gallie Wars*, which makes a single volume of moderate size with us, made eight Roman books. Most of the houses of the wealthy Romans contained libraries. The collection of Sammanicus Serenus, tutor of Gordian, numbered 62,000 books. There were twenty-nine public libraries in Rome established by the emperors.

During the reign of Tiberius, Phædrus, the Roman Æsop, wrote his fables, which were, for the most part, translations or imitations of the productions of his Grecian master. A little later, in the reign of Titus, Frontinus wrote a valuable work on the subject of military strategy, and a still more interesting book on the Roman aqueducts. This latter work gives us much interesting information respecting those stupendous structures.

Writers of the Early Latin Church. — The Christian authors of the first three centuries, like the writers of the New Testament, employed the Greek, that being the language of learning and culture. Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Justin, Origen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, and Basil are a few of the celebrated fathers of the early Church who used in their works the language of Athens. Of these Chrysostom ("golden-mouthed"), so called on account of his persuasive oratory, was perhaps the most renowned.

But, though the Greek language was first chosen as the medium for the dissemination of Christian doctrines, as the Latin tongue gradually came into more general use throughout the extended provinces of the Roman empire, the Christian authors naturally began to use the same in the composition of their works. Hence almost all the writings of the fathers of the Church produced during the last centuries of the empire were composed in Latin. From among the many names that adorn the Church literature of this period, we shall select only two for special mention, — St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

Jerome (A.D. 342-420) was a native of Pannonia. He studied at Rome and at Constantinople, and travelled through all the provinces of the empire, from Britain to Palestine. For many years he led a monastic life at Bethlehem. He is especially held in memory by his translation of the Scriptures into Latin. This version is known as the *Vulgate*, and is the one still used in the Roman Catholic Church.

Aurelius Augustine (A.D. 354-430) was born near Carthage, in Africa. He was the most eminent writer of the Christian Church

during the later Roman period. His numerous works — sermons, commentaries, and epistles — form a perfect library of themselves; but his fame rests chiefly on his *Confessions* and his *City of God*, two of the most remarkable productions of all Christian writings. The larger part of the *Confessions* is a touching narrative of the struggles of soul that resulted in his conversion. This work is a classic in Christian literature, and has been translated into almost every language in which the Bible is read. The *City of God* is a truly wonderful work. The author writes with the fervor of an Isaiah, with the prophetic vision of the Exile of Patmos. The book was written just when the Goths and Vandals were taking possession of the empire, when Rome was becoming the spoil of the barbarians. It was designed to answer the charge of the Pagans that Christianity, turning the hearts of the people away from the worship of the ancient gods, was the cause of the calamities that were befalling the Roman state. It symbolizes Rome as the city of the world, which only presumptuously can call itself the "Eternal City"; while under the figure of the City of God is portrayed the enduring nature of the Christian Church, the New Jerusalem, the truly "Eternal City."

Roman Law and Law Literature. — Although the Latin writers in all the departments of literary effort which we have so far reviewed did much valuable work, yet, as we have had occasion to repeat frequently, the Roman intellect in all these directions was under Greek guidance; its work was imitative, and throughout all its course unmarked by any great originality, boldness, or creative energy. But in another department it was different. We mean, of course, the field of legal and political science. Here the Romans ceased to be pupils and became teachers. Here they are no longer the servile imitators of the excellences of others, — although they do not refuse helpful instruction, — but they become creators and masters. Nations, like men, have their mission. Rome's mission was to give laws to the world.

Our knowledge of the law-system of the Romans begins with the legislation of the Twelve Tables, about 450 B.C. The laws en-

glossed upon these tablets must be regarded as being in the main a systemized collection of the rules and regulations that had grown up during many preceding centuries. Throughout the republican period the laws of the state were growing less and less invidious in their distinctions between the higher and lower classes of the community, and were gradually effacing the marks of their barbarous origin and becoming more liberal and scientific. From 100 B.C. to A.D. 250 lived and wrote the most famous of the Roman jurists and law-writers, who created the most remarkable law literature ever produced by any people. The great unvarying principles that underlie and regulate all social and political relations were examined, illustrated, and clearly enunciated. Gaius, Ulpian, Paulus, Papinian, and Pomponius are among the most renowned writers who, during the period just indicated, enriched by their writings and decisions this branch of Latin literature.

In the year A.D. 527 Justinian became emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire. He almost immediately entered upon the work of collecting and arranging in a systematic manner the immense mass of Roman laws and the writings of the jurists. The undertaking was like the labor of the Twelve Tables, only infinitely greater. Since those were set up in the Forum a thousand years had passed. During these centuries the limits of Latium had expanded until they embraced three continents; and over all these regions, with their motley populations, Rome had extended her authority and her laws. (There was no possible relation of life that was not recognized and dealt with by the Roman government.) Men's relations to the family, to the city, to the state, to the gods, were clearly defined and legislated upon and decreed about by senate, emperors, and municipal magistrates. During all these centuries, too, the best intellects of the nation had been busy annotating and commenting upon all this growing mass of legislation, and producing whole libraries of learned works respecting the science of jurisprudence and government in general. Bearing these things in mind, we can form some faint conception of the enormous amount of material of a legal character that had

been created by the time of the subversion of the empire of the West.

Justinian committed the task of collating, revising, condensing, and harmonizing all this matter to the celebrated lawyer Tribonian, with whom were associated during the course of the work fourteen assistants. This commission began its labors in the year A.D. 528, and in five years the task was completed, and given to the world in the form of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or "Body of the Civil Law." This consisted of three parts, — the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*.¹ The *Code* was a revised and compressed collection of all the laws, instructions to judicial officers, and opinions on legal subjects, promulgated by the different emperors since the time of Hadrian; the *Pandects* (all-containing) were a digest or abridgment of the writings, opinions, and decisions of the most eminent of the old Roman jurists and lawyers. Two thousand books of thirty-nine different authors, all of whom lived between 100 B.C. and A.D. 250, were collected, and from this enormous mass of manuscript were culled 9000 extracts, which contained the sum and substance of all that three centuries and more of law-scholars had thought and written. These excerpts were arranged under their proper titles, and filled fifty books. This part of the *Corpus Juris* is by far the most important and interesting, as it deals with the principles of legal science, and has to do with private law, which touches the transactions of every-day life, while the *Code* is mainly concerned with public law. The *Institutes* were a condensed edition of the *Pandects*, and were intended to form an elementary text-book for the use of students.

When the great work was completed, copies were furnished to all the law-schools of Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, Berytus, Cæsarea, and other cities of the empire. It was the sole text-book of the youth engaged in the study of the law.

¹ A later work, called the *Novels*, comprised the laws of Justinian subsequent to the completion of the *Code*.

The Body of the Roman Law thus preserved and transmitted was the great contribution of the Latin intellect to civilization. It has exerted a profound influence upon all the legal systems of modern Europe. During the Dark Ages its study abated; but early in the twelfth century there was a great revival of interest in it in all the law-schools of Italy, especially at Bologna. As a result of this fresh examination of the admirable system of jurisprudence of ancient Rome, the Justinian Code became the groundwork of the present law-system of Italy, of Southern France, and of Germany. It also became auxiliary law in Northern France and in Spain, while in England the laws of our Teutonic ancestors were by it greatly influenced and modified.¹ Thus has Rome given laws to the nations—thus does the once little Palatine city of the Tiber still rule the world. The religion of Judea, the arts of Greece, and the laws of Rome are three very real and potent elements in modern civilization.

SOCIAL LIFE.

Education.—Roman children were subject in an extraordinary manner to their father (*paterfamilias*). They were regarded as his property, and their life and liberty were in general at his absolute disposal. This power he exercised by usually drowning at birth the deformed or sickly child. Even the married son remained legally subject to his father, who could banish him, sell him as a slave, or even put him to death. It should be said, however, that the right of putting to death was seldom exercised, and that in the time of the empire the law put some limitations upon it.

The education of the Roman boy differed from that of the Greek youth in being more practical. The laws of the Twelve Tables were committed to memory; and rhetoric and oratory were given special attention, as a mastery of the art of public

¹ Hadley's *Introduction to Roman Law*, p. 25 et seq.

speaking was an almost indispensable acquirement for the Roman citizen who aspired to take a prominent part in the affairs of ~~the~~ state.

After the conquest of Magna Græcia and of Greece, the Romans were brought into closer relations than had hitherto existed with Greek culture. The Roman youths were taught the language of Athens, often to the neglect, it appears, of their native tongue; for we hear the censor Cato complaining that the boys of his time spoke Greek before they could use their own language. Young men belonging to families of means not unusually went to Greece, just as the graduates of our schools go to Europe, to finish their education. Many of the most prominent statesmen of Rome, as, for instance, Cicero and Julius Cæsar, received the advantages of this higher training in the schools of Greece.

Somewhere between the age of fourteen and eighteen the boy exchanged his purple-hemmed toga, or gown, for one of white wool, which was in all places and at all times the significant badge of Roman citizenship and Roman equality.¹

Social Position of Woman. — Until after her marriage, the daughter of the family was kept in almost Oriental seclusion. Marriage gave her a certain freedom. She might now be present at the races of the circus and the various shows of the theatre and the arena — a privilege rarely accorded to her before marriage. In the early virtuous period of the Roman state, divorce was unusual, but in later and more degenerate times it became very common. The husband had the right to divorce his wife for the slightest cause, or for no cause at all. In this disregard of the sanctity of the family relation may doubtless be found one cause of the degeneracy and failure of the Roman stock.

Public Amusements. — The entertainments of the theatre, the games of the circus, and the combats of the amphitheatre were

¹ With the exception of the chief magistrates and the senators, every citizen, whether rich or poor, patrician or plebeian, was compelled, whenever he appeared at the public games or at court, to wear the same white, unadorned mantle. Thus was symbolized the equality of the citizens.

the three principal public amusements of the Romans. These entertainments in general increased in popularity as liberty declined, the great festive gatherings at the various places of amusement taking the place of the political assemblies of the republic. The public exhibitions under the empire were, in a certain sense, the compensation which the emperors offered the people for their surrender of the right of participation in public affairs, and the people were content to accept the exchange.

Tragedy was never held in high esteem at Rome: the people saw too much real tragedy in the exhibitions of the amphitheatre to care much for the make-believe tragedies of the stage. The entertainments of the theatres usually took the form of comedies, farces, and pantomimes. The last were particularly popular, both because the vast size of the theatres made it quite impossible for the actor to make his voice heard throughout the structure, and for the reason that the language of signs was the only language that could be readily understood by an audience made up of so many different nationalities as composed a Roman assemblage.

More important and more popular than the entertainments of the theatre were the various games, especially the chariot races, of the circus. But surpassing in their terrible fascination all other public amusements were the animal-baitings and the gladiatorial combats of the arena.

The beasts required for the baitings were secured in different parts of the world, and transported to Rome and the other cities of the empire at an enormous expense. The wildernesses of Northern Europe furnished bears and wolves; Africa contributed lions, crocodiles, and leopards; Asia, elephants and tigers. These creatures were pitted against one another in every conceivable way. Often a promiscuous multitude would be turned loose in the arena at once. But even the terrific scene that then ensued, became at last too tame to stir the blood of the Roman populace. Hence a new species of show was introduced, and grew rapidly into favor with the spectators of the amphitheatre. This was the gladiatorial combat.

The Gladiatorial Combats. — Gladiatorial games seem to have had their origin in Etruria, whence they were brought to Rome. It was a custom among the early Etruscans to slay prisoners upon the warrior's grave, it being thought that the spirit of the dead delighted in the blood of such victims. In time the condemned prisoners were allowed to fight and kill one another, this being deemed more humane than their cold-blooded slaughter. Thus it happened that sentiments of humanity gave rise to an institution which, afterwards perverted, became the most inhuman of any that ever existed among a civilized people.

The first gladiatorial spectacle at Rome was presented by two sons at the funeral of their father, in the year 564 B.C. This exhibition was arranged in one of the forums, as there were at that time no amphitheatres in existence. From this time the public taste for this species of entertainment grew rapidly, and by the beginning of the imperial period had mounted into a perfect passion. It was now no longer the manes of the dead, but the spirits of the living, that they were intended to appease. At



GLADIATORS. (After an ancient mosaic.)

first the combatants were slaves, captives, or condemned criminals; but at last knights, senators, and even women descended into the arena. Training-schools were established at Rome, Capua, Ravenna, and other cities. Free citizens often sold themselves to the keepers of these seminaries; and to them flocked desperate men of all classes, and ruined spendthrifts of the noblest patrician houses. Slaves and criminals were encouraged to become proficient in this art by the promise of freedom if they survived the combats beyond a certain number of years.

Sometimes the gladiators fought in pairs; again, great compa-

nies engaged at once in the deadly fray. They fought in chariots, on horseback, on foot — in all the ways that soldiers were accustomed to fight in actual battle. The contestants were armed with lances, swords, daggers, tridents, and every manner of weapon. Some were provided with nets and lassos, with which they entangled their adversaries, and then slew them.

The life of a wounded gladiator was in the hands of the audience. If in response to his appeal for mercy, which was made by outstretching the forefinger, the spectators reached out their hands with thumbs extended, that indicated that his prayer had been heard and that the sword was to be sheathed; but if they extended their hands with thumbs turned in, that was the signal for the victor to complete his work upon his wounded foe. Sometimes the dying were aroused and forced on to the fight by burning with a hot iron. The dead bodies were dragged from the arena with hooks, like the carcasses of animals, and the pools of blood soaked up with dry sand.

These shows increased to such an extent that they entirely overshadowed the entertainments of the circus and the theatre. Ambitious officials and commanders arranged such spectacles in order to curry favor with the masses; magistrates were expected to give them in connection with the public festivals; the heads of aspiring families exhibited them "in order to acquire social position"; wealthy citizens prepared them as an indispensable feature of a fashionable banquet; the children caught the spirit of their elders and imitated them in their plays. The demand for gladiators was met by the training-schools: the managers of these hired out bands of trained men, that travelled through the country like opera troupes among us, and gave exhibitions in private houses or in the provincial amphitheatres.

The rivalries between ambitious leaders during the later years of the republic tended greatly to increase the number of gladiatorial shows, as liberality in arranging these spectacles was a sure passport to popular favor. It was reserved for the emperors, however, to exhibit them on a truly imperial scale. Titus, upon the

dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre, provided games, mostly gladiatorial combats, that lasted one hundred days. Trajan celebrated his victories with shows that continued still longer, in the progress of which 10,000 gladiators fought upon the arena, and more than 10,000 wild beasts were slain. (For the suppression of the gladiatorial games, see p. 368.)

State Distribution of Corn.—The free distribution of corn at Rome has been characterized as the "leading fact of Roman life." It will be recalled that this pernicious practice had its beginnings in the legislation of Gaius Gracchus (see p. 287). Just before the establishment of the empire, over 300,000 Roman citizens were recipients of this state bounty. In the time of the Antonines the number is asserted to have been even larger. The corn for this enormous distribution was derived in large part from a grain tribute exacted of the African and other corn-producing provinces. The evils that resulted from this misdirected state charity can hardly be overstated. Idleness and all its accompanying vices were fostered to such a degree that we probably shall not be wrong in enumerating the practice as one of the most prominent causes of the demoralization of society at Rome under the emperors.

Slavery.—A still more demoralizing element in Roman life than that of the state largesses of corn, was the institution of slavery. The number of slaves in the Roman state under the later republic and the earlier empire was probably as great or even greater than the number of freemen. The love of ostentation led to the multiplication of offices in the household of the wealthy, and the employment of a special slave for every different kind of work. Thus there was the slave called the *sandalio*, whose sole duty it was to care for his master's sandals; and another, called the *nomenclator*, whose exclusive business it was to accompany his master when he went upon the street, and give him the names of such persons as he ought to recognize. The price of slaves varied from a few dollars to ten or twenty thousand dollars, —these last figures being of course exceptional. Greek slaves

were the most valuable, as their lively intelligence rendered them serviceable in positions calling for special talent.

The slave class was recruited chiefly, as in Greece, by war, and by the practice of kidnapping. Some of the outlying provinces in Asia and Africa were almost depopulated by the slave-hunters. Delinquent tax-payers were often sold as slaves, and frequently poor persons sold themselves into servitude.

Slaves were treated better under the empire than under the later republic — a change to be attributed doubtless to the humanizing influence of the Stoical philosophy and of Christianity. The feeling entertained towards this unfortunate class in the later republican period is illustrated by Varro's classification of slaves as "vocal agricultural implements," and again by Cato the Elder's recommendation that old and worn-out slaves be sold, as a matter of economy. Sick and hopelessly infirm slaves were taken to an island in the Tiber and left there to die of starvation and exposure. In many cases, as a measure of precaution, the slaves were forced to work in chains, and to sleep in subterranean prisons. Their bitter hatred towards their masters, engendered by harsh treatment, is witnessed by the well-known proverb, "As many enemies as slaves," and by the servile revolts and wars of the republican period. But from the first century of the empire there is observable a growing sentiment of humanity towards the bondsman. Imperial edicts take away from the master the right to kill his slave, or to sell him to the trader in gladiators, or even to treat him with any undue severity. This marks the beginning of a slow reform which in the course of ten or twelve centuries resulted in the complete abolition of slavery in Christian Europe.

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AND

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY.

NOTE.—In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: *a*, like *a* in *gray*; *ä*, like *a* in *Ades*; *ä*, like *a* in *fär*; *ä*, like *ee* in *fat*; *ä*, like *e* in *end*; *c* and *ch*, like *k*; *q*, like *s*; *g*, like *j*; *z*, like *z*.

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